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MILLENNIALISM AND VIOLENCE

Edited by
MICHAEL
BARKUN

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Preface

Millennialism and Violence is the second volume of the Cass Series on Political Violence, an appropriate successor to Tore Bjørgo's *Terror from the Extreme Right* which contained several studies of contemporary millenarian groups. Michael Barkun, a preeminent interpreter of millenarianism, has organized his volume to focus more directly on the millenarian ethos itself. This is a topic of some importance in the history of terror. Prior to the French Revolution, terror was invariably justified by religious visions, and more often those visions were millenarian, and it cannot be surprising that the revival of religious intensity in the 1960s once again demonstrated the importance of coming to grips with the millenarian ethos.

Millenarianism is not confined to the religious experience. Friedrich Engels was the first of a long line of commentators to note that the millenarian ethos has important manifestations in secular movements, especially on the left. Left-wing secular millenarianism reached a modern high-point in the 1960s and 1970s and has declined considerably since, but remnants have remained and new elements have emerged, both of which are noted in this volume.

A critical, generally ignored, theme discussed here is the disposition of governments to misunderstand the difficult ways of millenarian groups, misunderstandings which contributed to gruesome but perhaps avoidable tragedies. This is not a new problem. The terror of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century drove many governments wild with fury until the Dutch learned how to deal with it. But today millenarian groups no longer always come from a particular religious tradition which we can understand; they borrow from very different religious universes. Aum Shinrikyo, for example, the group which made a nerve gas attack on Japanese subways in 1995, combines Hindu, Buddhist and Christian themes in extraordinary ways. This is a feature of the 'global village' which often makes contemporary millenarian activities almost incomprehensible.

DAVID C. RAPOPORT
December 1995

Introduction: Understanding Millennialism

MICHAEL BARKUN

I. Millennialism and Politics

While the scholarly literature on millenarian movements is vast,[1] the book that, more than any, other sensitized social scientists to millennialism's political implications was Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium* – a work to which several of the contributors here refer. In successive editions, Cohn linked the millenarian movements of late medieval Europe first with the rise of Communism and Nazism, then with protest movements in the Third World and the youth movements of the 1960s.[2] Although the connections Cohn made between past and present changed, he continued to maintain that latter-day millennialism took its most politically significant forms in movements that used or threatened violence.

When *The Pursuit of the Millennium* first appeared in the late 1950s, its story of obscure sectarians seemed little more than the excavation of historical curiosities. Indeed, much of the book's shock value came from Cohn's assertion that this religious exotica somehow spoke to modern concerns about the rise of totalitarianism. While some saw in it a powerful new tool for studying totalitarian ideology (a point Thomas Flanagan discusses in his essay here), millennialism remained for many too far outside conventional political categories to warrant serious examination. These movements that promised the total transformation of the social order attracted students of nativism, sectarianism, and acculturation, but on the whole remained outside the cultural and academic 'mainstream'. During the last 20 years, however, the practice of consigning millennialism to the margins has begun to crumble.

Over the last two decades, the study of millenarian movements has moved from the periphery to the center. No longer the exclusive domain of small coteries of specialists, it has come to be seen as a major category of social analysis, a phenomenon whose expression in often volatile movements lies at the core of many manifestations of violence.

What has produced this shift? Four factors appear principally responsible. First, the growth of Protestant fundamentalism has moved millennialism to the center of religious awareness, particularly in North America. Protestant fundamentalists are almost universally millenarian in their anticipation of the imminent end of history. Whether couched in terms

of dispensational premillennialism (for example, Jerry Falwell) or increasingly prevalent postmillennial variations (for example, Pat Robertson and the Reconstructionist movement), fundamentalists have made millennialism the keystone of an influential theological outlook. Fundamentalism, however, has been more than a flourishing religious persuasion; it also sees itself as a potent political actor, with the capacity to shape the public agenda on issues that range from abortion to policy in the Middle East.

Second, paralleling the rise of fundamentalism has been the growth of the New Religious Movements, groups that have emerged outside traditional religious categories, to which the pejorative label 'cult' has been popularly applied. These include such groups as the Church Universal and Triumphant, the Church of Scientology, the Hare Krishna Movement, the Unification Church, and hundreds of others. While not all are millenarian, many are developing concepts of total transformation outside well established belief systems.

Third, secular social analysts have increasingly painted an apocalyptic future. While some, such as Francis Fukuyama,[3] describe an 'end of history' in perfectionist terms, many others, such as Robert Heilbroner,[4] see history ending in a spiral of ever-increasing suffering and violence. Such end-of-the-world scenarios, although couched in entirely non-religious terms, share with religious counterparts the conviction that the world as we know it lives on borrowed time.[5] Whether these commentators attribute the end to nuclear war, global famine, or a world economic collapse, they present the existing order as fragile and problematic rather than solid and enduring.

Fourth, a succession of dramatic and highly publicized cases involving unusual religious groups, often of a distinctly millenarian sort, has imprinted on public consciousness an awareness of millenarian movements and an identification of them with violence. The article by Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony sketches the most famous of these cases: the Peoples Temple in Guyana (1978), the Branch Davidians outside Waco (1993), and the affair of the Solar Temple in Canada and Switzerland (1994). As this collection was being prepared, yet another such incident was in process – the nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway in March 1995, which within a few days was unofficially attributed to the apocalyptic sect, Aum Shinrikyo. Saturation media coverage of these sensational events has been in effect a 'crash course' on millennialism for the general public, and has reinforced the belief that such movements intrinsically threaten public order.

These factors first attained prominence in the 1970s. Early in that decade, the 'countercultural' religious movements that had taken root in the 1960s came to public awareness. Fundamentalist ministers discovered in cable television their proselytizing vehicle of choice. Oil shortages alerted

secular analysts to the weaknesses of even the most affluent societies. These manifestations continued into succeeding decades, even as the ferment of the 1960s receded, televangelists became enmeshed in scandals, and resource shortages diminished. A core of New Religious Movements survived the sifting process, Protestant fundamentalism has continued to grow in size and political sophistication, and many secular scholars remain preoccupied by the world's vulnerability to environmental damage, starvation, and other dangers.

These developments are at once separate and interconnected. While each has independent roots, they reinforce one another in ways too complex to dissect here. But a critical element in the connection – contributing significantly to a rising 'millenarian mood' – is the intangible but growing awareness of the year 2000. Its approach implies, however irrationally, that we stand at a critical dividing point between eras. This sensibility, clearly evident in both religion and popular culture, affects the scholarly community as well, for we as academics can no more isolate ourselves from such pervasive forces than others. Hence, with powerful overdetermination, millennialism has broken out of the isolation in which it existed when Cohn first wrote.

This has produced changes in the kinds of questions that are asked. Inquiries about millennialism can be grouped for convenience into three categories: The first question was predominantly causal: why did such movements appear when and where they did? It was understandable that this should be the initial question early in the study of these movements, for as long as social and political order was regarded as a given, it was departure from order that required explanation. Some explanations of millennialism, notably those by scholars in religious studies, sought the answer in factors internal to the movements themselves. From this standpoint, millenarian movements were the consequence of systems of religious ideas or traditions of interpretation taken to their logical conclusions. Thus, although the Church rejected the centrality and imminence of the millennium, key canonical texts (such as Revelation) implied both centrality and imminence for those who chose to heed their meaning. The tension between orthodox and heterodox interpretations of common sacred texts lies at the center of Reinaldo Román's examination here of medieval millenarianism. Other scholars, notably those in anthropology, sociology, and political science, favored external explanations, in which millennialism became the response to some exogenous factor (for example, cultural contact, the breakdown of institutions, widespread disaster, etc.).

In time, these causal questions gave way to problems of categorization. The millennium was, strictly speaking, a Christian concept, rooted in

biblical texts. As it came to be applied more widely, therefore, it was necessary to face the question of whether non-Christian millennialism was a 'real' category, a case of metaphorical extension, or an oxymoron. What makes a movement millenarian? Can secular movements be millenarian? How imminent must the expected change be in order for a movement to qualify? Cohn himself eventually tried to deal with such matters by defining millenarian groups as those which expected change that was collective, this-worldly, imminent, total, and supernatural.[6] While many at least conditionally accepted Cohn's stipulation (see the discussion here by Martha Lee), issues of clarification can never be settled by fiat, with the result that to the causal literature has been added literature concerned with how conceptual boundaries are drawn.

More recently, a third set of questions has emerged. These are behavioral questions, concerned with how millenarians act. These are the problems addressed here, for they focus on issues of activation and violence. The former arises out of the question, why should those who hold a deterministic view of history do anything, other than wait? If history moves ineluctably towards its destined end, why must millenarians do anything? Yet we know that millenarians, although sometimes quietistic, are often active. They may alter their forms of social organization, their lifestyles, and their orientations toward authority. They are also sometimes violent, either initiating violence or responding to real or perceived threats. Indeed, three case studies here all involve groups that at one time or another utilized violence. The Maori groups Jean Rosenfeld examines had violent clashes with British authorities in New Zealand. The radical environmental group, Earth First!, studied by Martha Lee engaged in acts of sabotage. The anti-abortion rescuers described by Jeffrey Kaplan have broken into clinics and sometimes shot physicians. None was content merely to let events take their course, and we must therefore look to questions concerning activation in general and resort to violence in particular.

II. Millenarians and their Environment

Early analyses of millenarian movements emphasized the impact of the larger environment. Millennialism arose because of some environmental disturbance. The contributions here take a more complex and nuanced approach, which sees millenarians engaged in a continuing set of interactions with external forces. These relationships may involve other religious groups, secular interest groups, and/or government officials. What is significant is the interactional perspective from which millenarian behavior is analyzed.

The emphasis here is less on such broad general factors as 'social

change' or 'cultural contact', and more upon the exchanges that take place between specific groups of millenarians and specific centers of power that can affect them. These are often, although not exclusively, the government officials who must deal with them. In case after case, how active a group becomes and the level of violence it employs depend critically upon the way it has been treated by those in authority. Although not examined in detail here,[7] the situation of the Branch Davidians is a case in point. The contacts with government were extensive and well documented, and it has become abundantly clear that the fire-fight during the initial raid, the stand-off with the FBI, and the final gas attack and fire cannot be understood without examining the ways in which each side saw the other, and the decisions taken on the basis of those perceptions.

The interactions millenarians have with others are important for two reasons. First, each side has an interpretive framework that gives meaning to the behavior of the other. Second, this interpretive framework is marked by a dualistic view of the world. The millenarian interpretive framework is comprehensive. It purports to offer an all-encompassing set of ideas that makes sense of the world millenarians see. Indeed, they often claim to possess a special knowledge not vouchsafed to others, so that they alone have a correct and complete understanding of the world. This interpretive framework or worldview is in fact not equally detailed in all its parts. It is often vague in its description of the perfect future that will eventually emerge, but it tends to be highly specific in identifying present forces of evil and the sequence of events that will lead to the final victory. Thus, although the millennial age itself may be only lightly sketched, the final events of history are often rendered in graphic detail.

This detail is important because, first, it allows millenarians to precisely identify those who are their enemies. Second, it often includes predictions about the behavior of both sides, the actions that may be expected both of the elect and their adversaries. This gives to millenarian interpretive frameworks the character of *scripts*, giving to the last days a distinctly dramaturgical cast. In many versions of the script, particularly in the West, conditions for the elect will get progressively worse, so that suffering, instead of being viewed as a sign of defeat, becomes evidence of the nearness of victory. The situation worsens until a final struggle with evil, where the once beleaguered millenarians find themselves newly empowered, permitting the final triumph.

The state's forces do not possess so uniform a point of view. However, while the authorities possess a broader array of interpretive frameworks, they too have a set of lenses through which they read the meaning of events. Where the authorities come from a cultural background different from the millenarians themselves, the state's picture may invest millenarians with

attributes of savagery, superstition, and ignorance, as was the case in the New Zealand episodes described by Rosenfeld. Where millenarians and authorities share a common culture, official judgements are scarcely less pejorative. The widespread designation of millenarian groups as 'cults', for example, carries implications of 'brainwashing', domination by unscrupulous leaders, and lack of capacity for rational choice (a process described more fully by Robbins and Anthony).

In addition to interpretive frameworks that both sides possess, each is also prone to view the other in dualistic terms. The Manichean propensities of millenarians have long been noted (they are discussed at length here by Robbins and Anthony, and by Flanagan). In their dichotomized view of the world, only two domains exist: that of the pure, which they inhabit, and that of the impure, in which their adversaries dwell. Division of the world into pure and impure reproduces in social and physical space what millenarians have already done with time, divided into the imperfection of history and the perfection of the coming millennium.[8] This eliminates gradation, nuance, and degree.

While it is less often remarked upon, the adversaries of millenarians also often view the world in dualistic terms, according to which they see themselves as the guardians of order against fanaticism. The ideology of cultic brainwashing associated with the anti-cult movement[9] has in many cases been adopted by law enforcement agencies as well. The term 'fundamentalism', too, has acquired a strongly negative charge, such that the phrase 'Islamic fundamentalism' is often employed as a virtual synonym for terrorism. In a sense, then, millenarians and the state possess mirror images of each other.

These images are important because they have behavioral consequences. Each side claims to have knowledge of the other, yet this knowledge is not derived from the other but from one's own concept of the world. To the extent that the other is demonized – to millenarians, the state is evil, and to the state, millenarians are crazed – there is little incentive to see the world from the other's point of view. What is looked for instead is evidence that confirms the picture already held. To the extent that the two sides interact on the basis of these mirror-image scripts, each will selectively identify and interpret evidence that fits into the appropriate script. Thus, in the case of the Branch Davidians, the ATF raid and the subsequent massive FBI presence confirmed David Koresh's apocalyptic predictions. On the other side, the FBI referred to Koresh's theological presentations as 'Bible babble' and moved ahead with the gas attack even as Koresh worked on the final interpretation of Revelation that might have allowed him to surrender.

At one level, these interactions are systematic and symmetrical misreadings. At another level, such mutual incomprehension can have more

far-reaching effects. The relationship between the Branch Davidians and federal law enforcement agencies lasted for only 51 days. But where millenarians and government interact over months or years, the misreadings (or, rather, reading in terms of one's own script) can powerfully affect group activation and violence. For example, millenarians' willingness to employ violence is often a function of the sense of being besieged, which may in turn result from the policies employed by state agencies with no direct knowledge of how the world appears to the millenarians themselves but amply equipped with its own conception of why they behave as they do. Without meaning to do so, therefore, each acts in precisely those ways most likely to antagonize the other.

III. Millenarians and their Beliefs

Much of the early literature about millennialism dealt with movements that arose out of discrete, well-defined traditions. This was certainly true of Cohn's medieval chiliasts, who, although condemned by the Church, worked from the same sacred texts and core beliefs as official religion (a point demonstrated here by Román). The same was true of many non-Western movements directed against European or American interlopers. The Plains Indians' Ghost Dance grew out of indigenous sources, rearranged and directed to a new purpose. Increasingly, however, one finds millenarian movements that do not emerge from a single, well-bounded tradition.

This is certainly true of many of the groups examined here, which frustrate attempts to fit them within neat categories. While Rosenfeld's Maori millennialists drew much of their inspiration from indigenous sources, they also appropriated for themselves the concept of the Israelites as God's chosen people. Earth First! has emerged wholly outside a traditional religious framework, assembling its millenarian-apocalyptic position out of 'deep ecology' and a kind of nature-worship. The abortion rescue movement, with its combination of Protestants and Catholics, has created a millennialism which, while clearly Christian, is neither Protestant nor Catholic.

Such classification-defying cases are increasingly becoming the rule. The expansion of some religious communities – notably Christianity and Islam – creates the potential for widespread syncretism. Media-saturation, much of it not dependent upon literacy, breaches the boundaries of formerly isolated communities. Finally, the disposition to reject traditional forms of authority is particularly strong among millenarians. Fundamentalism, with its vision of a purified religious tradition, often attacks traditional, conservative religious leaders, claimed to be corrupt or coopted.

Charismatic authority, operating outside traditional constraints, legitimizes novel doctrinal permutations.

The result is that fewer millenarian movements arise wholly within single coherent religious traditions. To the extent that they still do, they are more readily analyzed as self-contained, internally logical systems of ideas, as Stephen O'Leary has persuasively shown.[10] While such movements will presumably always be present, they are being supplanted by what might be termed *eclectic millenarianism*. This is distinguishable even from syncretic forms, for syncretism takes place where two traditions abut one another, encouraging hybridization. In the eclectic form, however, elements are borrowed from a bewildering array of sources, such that a belief system might simultaneously contain elements of Christianity, the occult, eastern religions, and radical politics. Contemporary examples include Christian Identity,[11] the Church Universal and Triumphant,[12] and the Solar Temple.[13]

Such eclecticism poses two difficulties: First, as interpretive frameworks become increasingly dissimilar, the gulf between millenarians and their adversaries widens. From the state's standpoint, millenarians exist in ever more remote and incomprehensible mental universes. Second, the practical implication of this gulf is that it greatly increases the probability of violent clashes, as the probability of misread intentions grows. As long as movements develop within coherent, historically grounded traditions, understanding their view of the world is relatively easy, since one may rely on the family resemblances among offshoots of the tradition. When, however, eclectic millenarianism takes hold, it produces movements which, in effect, have no family resemblance, beyond the family resemblance that all millenarian groups have with one another (in Cohn's terms, total, this-worldly, ...etc). Beyond that, each is idiosyncratic, demanding that it be understood on its own terms only.

Paradoxically, this multiplicity of only vaguely similar groups plays to the greatest weakness of political authorities in dealing with such groups, namely, the tendency to employ some portmanteau term such as 'cult' which lumps all in one basket, and mandates for all the same treatment. Like all general terms, this one offers the advantage of economy of effort, but, as we have seen, it is a specious advantage, for it produces precisely the violent outcomes it seeks to avoid.

NOTES

1. Ted Daniels, *Millennialism: An International Bibliography* (NY: Garland, 1992).
2. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe and its Bearing on Modern Totalitarian Movements* (NY: Essential Books, 1957; NY: Harper & Row, 1961); *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (NY: OUP, 1970, rev. and

expanded ed.).

3. Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (NY: Avon, repr. 1993).
4. Robert L. Heilbroner, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect: Looked at Again for the 1990s* (NY: Norton, 1991).
5. Michael Barkun, 'Divided Apocalypse: Thinking About the End in Contemporary America', *Soundings* 66 (1983), pp.257–80.
6. Cohn (note 2), p.15.
7. On the Branch Davidians, see my article, 'Millenarian Groups and Law Enforcement Agencies: The Lessons of Waco', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 6/1 (Spring 1994), pp.75–95.
8. Yonina Talmon, 'Millenarian Movements', *European Jnl of Sociology* 7 (1966), pp.159–200.
9. Jeffrey Kaplan, 'The Anti-Cult Movement in America: A History of Culture Perspective', *Syzygy* 2 (Summer/Fall 1993), pp.267–96.
10. Stephen D. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (NY: OUP, 1994).
11. Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina UP, 1994).
12. J. Gordon Melton, 'The Church Universal and Triumphant: Its Heritage and Thought World', in James R. Lewis and J. Gordon Melton (eds.), *Church Universal and Triumphant in Scholarly Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Center for Academic Publications, 1994), pp.1–20.
13. Massimo Introvigne, with J. Gordon Melton, 'The Solar Temple: A Preliminary Report on the Roots of a Tragedy', paper prepared for presentation at the Communal Studies Assoc., Oneida, NY, 6–9 Oct. 1994.

Religious Totalism, Violence and Exemplary Dualism: Beyond the Extrinsic Model

DICK ANTHONY and THOMAS ROBBINS

This study presents an alternative psychological model to the 'extrinsic model'. The latter emphasizes the external imposition through brainwashing of a pattern of depersonalization facilitating the enslavement of participants in totalist sects. An alternative approach can be extrapolated from the writings of Robert Lifton and more particularly, Erik Erikson's original conception of totalism. We suggest that contemporary cultural fragmentation exacerbates patterns of identity confusion and narcissistic 'split self' dynamics. Some young persons voluntarily attempt to resolve identity confusion through identification with messianic leaders and their apocalyptic absolutist mystiques. The 'Exemplary Dualist' worldviews of such groups facilitate 'contrast identities' which project disvalued elements of self onto 'enemies' including unbelievers. Emergent projective systems are unstable and may require reinforcement through appropriate interactions with outsiders, for example, converting them. Other vicissitudes of interaction between believers and outsiders, including provocative 'cowboy law enforcement', may actualize the potential for violence associated with the more extreme groups.

In *Apocrypha*, a fictional episode of the much praised television series, *Law and Order*, the fanatic prophet of an apocalyptic 'cult' is successfully prosecuted in a homicide. The jury vindicates the prosecutor's theory that the messianic leader had 'brainwashed' his followers, one of whom had perished while planting a bomb. The episode closes with the camera panning the dead bodies of the devotees, the clear implication being that a post-trial collective suicide transpired.[1]

Like many episodes of this program (for example, a father killed by a son who claims to be a victim of parental abuse), *Apocrypha* is loosely drawn from 'the headlines'. The stereotype of the fanatic and violent 'cult' whose members are involuntarily transformed into something akin to robots through brainwashing is now well-established in our culture,[2] and has, moreover, been reinforced by accounts of recent collective suicides (or murder-suicides) associated with the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas in 1993 and the mysterious Solar Temple group in Switzerland and Quebec.[3] In current 'anti-cult' applications of brainwashing and allied concepts denoting mind control (for example, coercive persuasion, thought reform)

to formally voluntary religious and therapeutic groups, there appear to be significant continuities with earlier CIA-Cold War formulations based on the contexts of forced confessions and POW camps in totalitarian states. There appears to be an operative model in which alleged cultist psychological coercion is viewed as fully equivalent to physical constraint and forcible confinement such that the 'psychologically coerced' person is as unambiguously under someone else's control as is a physical captive. Basic elements of such a model include: (1) A notion of the total subjugation of the victim who loses the capacity to exercise *free will*; (2) A rejection of the idea that converts are attracted to cults by virtue of motivations and orientations that render them predisposed to be attracted to a particular type of movement. To the extent that such *predisposing motives* are acknowledged, they tend to be downplayed or trivialized and denied independent variable status; (3) An emphasis on alleged *hypnotic processes* and induced trance states and their consequences in terms of suggestibility, dissociation and disorientation; (4) An assertion with regard to the process of *conditioning*, or other allegedly deterministic influence processes, for example those described in 'attribution theory', which supposedly overwhelm free will; (5) A specification of impaired cognition or patterns of *defective thought* that allegedly result from conditioning, hyper-emotionality and/or trance-states.; (6) The hypnotic-conditioning-indoctrination process is seen as operating to implant *false ideas* in a victim's mind, for example false religious doctrines and/or mistaken beliefs in the value of a particular religious organization; (7) Finally, brainwashing is seen as producing a *false self* or cultic identity which is superimposed on one's authentic identity.

Although there are may be some valid components of the cultic-brainwashing stereotype, for example authoritarian movements, manipulative leaders, zealous devotees and groups with violent proclivities, there may also be substantial distortions and exaggerations.[4] In this essay we will develop an alternative to the brainwashing model, i.e. to the *extrinsic* model of conversion to extreme apocalyptic movements. In the extrinsic paradigm, the recruitment, mobilization and transformation of members is seen as totally instigated and controlled by sinister techniques of persuasion such that intrinsic or individual (for example, personality, predispositional) factors are deemed insignificant. We will question this model both in terms of its posited pedigree in the foundational work of Robert Lifton on ideological totalism and Maoist thought reform, and in terms of its compatibility with recent research on marginal religious movements. In terms of an alternative approach we will posit an interaction between certain 'totalist' movements and ideologies on the one hand, and certain predisposing configurations of personal identity on the other. Totalist

milieux and totalist characteristics of individuals may at times interact in such a way that they escalate into violent group actions. Finally, we will consider what kinds of movements and worldviews are most likely to elicit the support of certain predisposed individuals and to facilitate their development of a 'contrast identity' in which an idealized self-concept is combined with projection of negativity on to outsiders and scapegoats, a pattern which may have some implications for possible violence.

I. Foundational Thinkers and the Extrinsic Model

Although the extrinsic brainwashing model has been attacked in terms of its applicability to 'new religious movements', it has often been assumed nevertheless to be an accurate portrait of the coercive persuasion of Western military and civilian prisoners at the time of the Korean War. In brainwashing legal cases in the 1980s experts testifying against 'cults' often cited the prestigious foundational work of Edgar Schein on 'coercive persuasion' and Robert Lifton on 'totalism' or 'thought reform'[5] as establishing the theoretical basis for cultic brainwashing testimony[6] as if their research had previously affirmed an extrinsic model of conversion to Communism.

In our view, the research of Schein and Lifton upon Communist totalism is actually significantly at variance with the thoroughly extrinsic brainwashing model. They each describe a manipulative process aimed at producing false confessions and conversions, but such manipulation was unable to influence the political beliefs of most people subjected to it. Those few prisoners who emerged with some degree of sympathy to Communism already were prone to conversion to totalitarian perspectives before being imprisoned because of pre-existing totalistic personality patterns. Lifton's and Schein's research, therefore, clearly repudiates an extrinsic conversion model, but their views have been distorted to the effect that they are said to affirm a highly effective coercive psychological process which is equivalent to physical imprisonment and in which individual predispositions, pre-motives and personality patterns play no dynamic role.

In this study we will be primarily concerned with the totalism concept originally developed by Erik Erikson[7] and used by Robert Lifton to account for influence in the thought reform process. The Erikson-Lifton totalism concept is more fully developed than the coercive persuasion concept used by Schein,[8] and the subtle interactions between a totalistic milieu and totalistic personality-identity patterns which pre-exist membership in totalitarian organizations is, in our view, particularly significant in terms of understanding conversions to contemporary cults and in planning future research.

It is not generally realized that neither the totalism concept nor the term originated with Robert Lifton's use of it to account for influence in the thought reform milieu. The totalism concept and term were developed originally by Erik Erikson in a 1953 article which constituted his contribution to the volume which resulted from a historically important conference in 1953 on totalitarianism sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.[9]

Erikson later expanded on the totalism concept in his 1958 book *Young Man Luther*, in which he also further developed the concepts of 'negative identity' and 'negative external conscience' which are constituent elements of totalism as he defines it.[10] Lifton draws upon both of these discussions of totalism in his use of Erikson's concept in his book, and upon related passages in Erikson's other books and articles as well. At this point we will summarize Erikson's development of the totalism concept in his article before returning to Lifton's use of it in his book on thought reform.

Erikson's Totalism Concept

In 'Wholeness and Totality', the article in which he originated the concept of totalism, Erikson maintained that persons with certain personality characteristics are particularly attracted to movements, governments and ideologies which manifest a characteristically totalitarian ideological and persuasive style. He defined totalism as 'man's inclination, under certain conditions to undergo ... that sudden total realignment and, as it were, co-alignment which accompanies conversion to the totalitarian conviction that the state may and must have absolute power over the minds as well as the lives and the fortunes of its citizens'.[11] Note that Erikson defines totalism as a *predisposition* to convert to totalitarian ideology, that is, as the 'inclination to undergo ... conversion to the totalitarian conviction'. Thus, in Erikson's usage, the totalism concept contradicts the extrinsic brainwashing model by defining totalism as a longing for totalitarianism that long predates contact with an actual totalitarian movement or ideology.

Erikson's paper on 'Wholeness and Totality' represented an attempt to formulate a general model of authoritarianism, namely, a general account of the psychological dimension of totalitarianism which would be applicable to persons attracted to both fascist and Communist movements as well as other totalistic groups. Some persons, Erikson maintains, develop a kind of totalistic or proto-totalist syndrome which bears some relationship to an inadequate resolution of the tensions of the Oedipal developmental stage of childhood. Persons with certain psychological conflicts may develop a self-concept which is polarized between unrealistically positive and negative self-images competing for domination in the person's self-definition. Totalitarian movements appeal to such persons by

reinforcing a narcissistically grandiose self-conception and providing a collective foundation for the projection of elements of the polarized negative self-image onto a scapegoated contrast group.

Erikson maintains, on the other hand, that a personality embodying 'wholeness' is characterized by open and fluid boundaries. Moral principles and other differentiations of reality utilized by the ego take the form of somewhat ambiguous continua rather than sharp and dichotomous polarities. The resulting self-concept is not organized in terms of split-off good and bad selves but rather in terms of subtle differentiations of good and bad qualities organized into a single coherent identity. Such a person is 'tolerant of ambiguity' and sees both him/herself and the outer world in shades of grey rather than in sharply polarized black and white categories.

In contrast, the totalistic organization of the personality entails an emphasis on an absolute boundary between good and bad people and between the person and the exterior social environment. The person feels fundamentally separate from the outside world. A sense of relationship is attained by forming intense negative and positive identifications between external people or groups and crudely dichotomized parts of the person. Moral and ideological principles are internalized as absolutes. Impulses, fantasies, behaviors and opinions not fully consistent with positive identifications are denied and dissociated. But this rigid organization tends to be unstable, in part because split-off parts of the psyche may continue to seek expression and threaten the unrealistic and dualistic definition of acceptable selfhood.

Like the authors of the famous volume, *The Authoritarian Personality*,[12] Erikson maintains that persons with such an implicitly totalitarian personality organization tend to possess a 'negative external conscience' that renders them prone to transferring responsibility for their beliefs and actions to authoritarian hierarchies legitimated by absolutist ideologies and to the projection of anger and guilt on to demonized outgroups.

It is well-known that Erikson broadened and extended the received psychoanalytic schema of individual psycho-sexual development, replacing the tripartite childhood model with eight developmental stages extending through adulthood.[13] Favorable vs. unfavorable resolutions of the polarity which dominates each stage collectively determine whether a wholistic or totalistic personality pattern evolves. The initial stage features the antinomy of *basic trust vs. mistrust*. The emergence of 'Basic Mistrust' patterned by recurrent disruptions of an infant's sense of ontological security can produce 'total rage' accompanied by fantasies of total control over the sources of nurturance and consequent apocalyptic-totalist proclivities.[14] Religious worldviews may confer meaning qua metaphysical reality on

Basic Mistrust via symbols of ultimate evil, although religious rituals can also help to create a collective restitution of trust.

Resolutions of the polarities of other stages, particularly the third, Oedipal (or guilt vs. initiative) phase which may produce a punitive super-ego ('negative external conscience', see above) also contribute to the contingent emergence of totalistic rigidity in individuals. Finally, Erikson places special emphasis on the polarity of ego identity vs. identity diffusion in the period of the adolescent/post-adolescent 'identity crisis'. The threat of *identity/role diffusion* develops when a young person cannot integrate emergent adult responsibilities with a childhood sense of self in order to evolve a coherent picture or image of him/herself as a continuous, unitary individual. A temptation for persons who experience difficulties in this respect is to effect a 'total immersion in a synthetic identity' through totalistic participation in a movement affirming 'extreme nationalism, racism or class consciousness' and thematizing a 'collective condemnation of a totally stereotyped enemy'.[15]

In Erikson's view an adolescent in the throes of identity confusion may, to avoid remaining 'a contradictory bundle of identity fragments', adopt a 'negative identity'.[16] A youth will thus undergo an 'almost willful' total realignment in which the polarized good and bad selves, the characteristic legacy of unresolved tension from the oral and Oedipal stages, undergo a sudden reversal such that the formerly condemned 'bad self' is now consciously affirmed as one's true identity. Youth who affirm negative identities frequently act out through drugs, crime, promiscuities and involvement in delinquent subcultures or counter-cultures. An alternative (or subsequent) strategy entails re-orienting the negative identity into a contrast identity (our term) through a transvaluation in which participation in some sort of radical or esoteric subculture is redefined as totally good while the exterior mainstream is condemned as evil. Erikson sees radical leftist or rightist political and lifestyle groups as helping to crystallize contrast identities by giving their rebellion a 'stamp of universal righteousness within a black and white ideology'.[17]

Lacking 'inner wholeness', some persons who are predisposed to totalism develop a self-concept which is polarized between a good self and a bad self. Involvement in a totalistic group with an absolutist, Manichean worldview and a charismatic leader creates a basis for affirming the pure idealized self in terms of a strong identification with the noble virtues of the movement, its vital truth and its heroic leader, while incompatible or rejected feelings and weaknesses are projected onto demonized scapegoats, for example, Jews, reds, homosexuals, bourgeoisie, non-believers, etc. Thus, through totalistic commitment an internally fragmented person may evade both identity confusion and an oppressive negative conscience.

Lifton's Application of the Totalism Concept

It should be noted that in Erikson's use of the term totalism, he clearly means it to refer to an individual personality characteristic that predates conversion to totalitarian organizations. In Erikson's usage, totalism is the individual propensity to convert to totalitarian ideologies or organizations. He does not use the term totalism to refer to ideologies or organizations but reserves the term totalitarianism for groups and ideologies.

Lifton uses the totalism term throughout most of his book in essentially the same individualistic meaning as Erikson gives it in his article. Lifton defines it without elaboration in his first usage of the term in this sentence: 'For an element of totalism[2] – a tendency towards all or nothing emotional alignments – seems ever-present in Miss Darrow' (p.129). (In the footnote number 2 referred to in this quote Lifton simply designates Erikson's totalism article without further elaboration.)[18]

In all of his uses of the term totalism until Lifton reaches Chapter 22 (that is, on pages 129, 131, 150, 182, 219, 290 and 376), he is clearly using the term to refer to an individual predisposition to convert to totalitarian ideologies and institutions. Moreover, he interlinks the totalism term with other Eriksonian concepts, that is 'negative identity', 'negative conscience', 'identity crisis' and 'identity confusion', 'splitting', etc, in essentially the same ways that Erikson did in his article.[19]

In so far as Lifton's book involves a theoretical analysis of the general characteristics of conversion to totalitarian ideology, then, it is more a speculative application of Erikson's already developed concept of totalism than it is an inductively generated description of his subjects' conversions. Only two of Lifton's 25 Western subjects and none of his Chinese subjects substantially changed their political and social opinions and attitudes as a result of their thought reform experience. (The other subjects exhibited only *behavioral compliance* under physical duress and threat, that is, Communist thought reform obtained from each subject, 'the extraction of an incriminating personal confession because it made this confession a requirement for survival').[20] Lifton scarcely could have generated a general description of the psychological dimension of totalitarianism on the basis of the experiences of two subjects, neither of whom became Communists.

Although neither of the two subjects who were influenced, that is, 'Miss Darrow' and 'Father Simon', converted to Communism, they did become somewhat more sympathetic to Chinese Communism than they had been at the beginning of their thought reform experience. The quasi-conversion experiences of these subjects are analyzed in depth by Lifton, but the analysis deals rather extensively with their pre-conversion personalities, past history, emotional strains and identity problems, which are viewed as

indispensable factors to the influence that occurs, along the lines described by Erikson in his article on totalism.[21]

In Chapter 22 of *Chinese Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism*, which is entitled 'Ideological Totalism',[22] Lifton sets forth a 'complex set of eight psychological themes' that he felt were characteristic of Communist thought reform.[23] This chapter extrapolates Erikson's totalism concept to an analysis of the interaction among totalistic individuals, totalitarian ideology and the totalitarian group in the thought reform process. Lifton provides a phenomenological description of each of these themes in terms that are highly reminiscent of Erikson's totalism article. His discussion of each of the eight themes describes how the thought reform process encourages the person to organize his/her identity into the polarized good and bad selves with the bad self repressed and projected, which Erikson described as characteristic of totalistic personality organization.

Even though Lifton has begun to use the term totalism to refer to characteristics of ideologies and groups at this point, nevertheless at the time that he wrote this chapter he clearly did not mean to imply that the thought reform process was to be interpreted in wholly extrinsic terms as overwhelming individual predispositions. Rather, according to Lifton, the development of totalistic commitments in individuals, namely, conversions to totalism, and, indeed, the crystallization of a totalist milieu, entails a process of interaction between totalistic individual proclivities and totalistic worldviews. Thus, at his introduction of the key term, *ideological totalism*, he states: 'By this ungainly phrase I mean to suggest the coming together of an immoderate ideology with equally immoderate character traits – an extremist meeting ground of people and ideas.'[24]

Lifton is here developing a concept of totalism as an interaction between individual and group totalitarian tendencies, with neither the individual nor the group trait causing the other but with both being necessarily present for totalistic conversions to occur. He states:

> These criteria [of totalism] consist of eight psychological themes which are predominant within the social field of the thought reform milieu. Each has a totalistic quality; each depends upon an equally absolute philosophical assumption; and each mobilizes certain individual emotional tendencies, mostly of a polarizing nature. *Psychological theme, philosophical rationale and polarized individual tendencies are interdependent; they require rather than directly cause, each other.* In combination they create an atmosphere which may temporarily energize or exhilarate, but which at the same time poses the greatest of human threats.[25] (our emphasis)

Towards the end of this chapter, Lifton again reaffirms – in terms reminiscent both of Erikson's article on totalism and of the book *The Authoritarian Personality* – that the predisposition to respond favorably to totalistic ideology originates in childhood socialization patterns:

> What is the source of ideological totalism? How do these extremist emotional patterns originate? ... The degree of individual totalism involved depends greatly upon factors in one's personal history: early lack of trust, extreme environmental chaos, total domination by a parent or parent-representative, intolerable burdens of guilt and severe crises of identity . Thus an early sense of confusion and dislocation, or an early experience of extremely intense family milieu control, can produce later a complete intolerance for dislocation and confusion, and a longing for the reinstatement of milieu control.[26]

It is clear, then, that Lifton's analysis of conversion to totalism is incompatible with the extrinsic model of cultic-brainwashing that expert witnesses have claimed were based upon his research. The negation of a dynamic role for individual predispositions and pre-existing psychological currents that are central to the brainwashing model is flatly contradicted by the key role of such pre-dispositions in both Lifton's and Erikson's accounts of the nature of conversion to totalitarian ideology.[27] The manipulative ruthlessness and brutality of Maoist thought reformers notwithstanding, the Erikson-Lifton theory of totalism describes no inescapably omnipotent psychotechnology which renders individual predilections irrelevant.

II. Personality Factors

Some time ago one of the present authors listed positive consequences of joining new religious movements which had been identified (late 1960s and 1970s) by earlier researchers (often prior to 'brainwashing' controversies).[28] Functional or pro-social consequences included rehabilitation of drug users, gratifying interpersonal relations responding to communal dislocations, renewed vocational motivational commitment, suicide prevention, diffusion of radical social protest, decrease in moral confusion and anomie, therapeutic relief of depression and anxiety, therapeutic enhancement of ego-identity and psychological integration, etc.

In effect the model which implicitly or explicitly informed these observations, as well as the early work of the present writers,[29] was a *deprivation model* in which anomie related to moral ambiguity or lack of 'deep' interpersonal relations produces psychic distress which in turn leads to an alienation from the conventional and a willingness to experiment with

social innovations and unorthodox movements. In some of these movements converts do find, at least temporarily, relief from distress or spiritual and communal gratifications although sometimes with various and significant costs. We now incline toward a variant of this model grounded in Erik Erikson's posited sequence for youth confronted with impending identity diffusion (see Section I) who initially develop negative identities often associated with social alienation and acting out (for example, drug use, 'dropping out'). They subsequently may become involved in totalist movements which encourage the crystallization of extrapunitive *contrast identities* whereby individuals define themselves largely in terms of what they reject and vehemently oppose ('contrast symbols') such that they provisionally heal fragmentation of identity by identifying with an idealized (often ideologically based) self-image and projecting negativity and weaknesses onto scapegoats whose demonization derives from the movement's worldview. In this way absolutist sects both selectively recruit predisposed individuals and further encourage and intensify such patterns through social reinforcement and socialization proclivities congruent with the movements' beliefs and goals.[30] As Lifton has emphasized, what transpires is a pattern of *interaction* between individual personalities and movements.[31]

Contrast identities, as the authors have noted elsewhere, are often linked to groups whose worldviews we have previously designated *Exemplary Dualism*, an apocalyptic motif 'in which contemporary socio-political or socioreligious forces are viewed as exemplifying absolute contrast categories in terms of not only moral virtue but also of eschatology and the millennial destiny of humankind'.[32] Originally applied by the authors to the symbolic universe of the Unification Church,[33] the concept of exemplary dualism was subsequently applied to Jim Jones and the ill-fated Peoples Temple in analysis published by a seminar student of Dick Anthony.[34] The contrast identities of devotees become anchored in the Manichean dualist worldview of movements which regard certain putatively wicked and antagonistic outsiders as embodying demonic yet often identifiable world historical forces, for example, the Papacy is the 'Whore of Babylon', the Tsar is AntiChrist, the New Age-occult milieu is Satan's instrument to destroy the Church, etc. More generally the exemplary dualist term might be applied to Manichean groups which depend for their morale on sharp contrasts with groups and cultures outside the movement. Members of such groups define themselves in opposition to such 'contrast symbols' and thereby gain a sense of purpose, wholeness and meaningful commitment as well as a conviction of personal righteousness. Frequently converts are troubled persons with fragmented selves and 'negative identities' who may experience some temporary relief from depression or anxiety.

In his important study of converts to the Unification Church in the 1980s, Marc Galanter found many troubled or alienated young persons: only a fraction of those who began college actually graduated. 'A sizeable portion (39 per cent) felt they had experienced serious emotional difficulties in the past' which had led 30 per cent to seek professional help and 6 per cent to be hospitalized. Sixty-five per cent had used marijuana on a daily basis and 14 per cent had used heroin.[35] They had high levels of self-reported psychological distress (compared to a matched control sample) which, however, declined significantly over the course of conversion, and drug use also declined very markedly. 'The decline in feeling of psychological distress was directly proportional to the degree of cohesiveness they felt toward the group',[36] which did make losing faith in the beliefs or contemplating disaffiliation somewhat stressful. The 'relief effect' or decline in psychic distress was correlated with the individual's variable feeling of solidarity with the group and with acceptance of group beliefs. Thus, 'The relief effect is mediated by the affiliative attitudes of social cohesiveness and shared beliefs – that is, by both social and cognitive means.'[37]

It is possible to question the (essentially self-reported) 'relief effect', or at least to not take it entirely at face value. Converts affirm a sense of well-being, and they are less likely to make such a claim before they join; yet, as Barker has shown for the Unification Church and Levine and as others have shown for other groups, there is a rather high defection rate.[38] Levine sensed a spurious quality in devotees' 'beatific faces' and protestations of happiness. They appeared to be *performing*, although rather carried away by their own acting.[39] In any case, as one review essayist notes, there is little evidence that merely becoming committed to the group has really resolved Galanter's respondents' personality conflicts. 'The "relief effect" could be temporary and/or superficial.'[40]

A different perspective comes from sociologist Robert Simmonds, who poses the question 'conversion or addiction with respect to a communal Jesus Movement group'.[41] Personality inventories administered to 96 members of a 'Jesus Movement' group in the early 1970s yielded a profile of highly anxious individuals who were very dependent upon external authority. Like Galanter's Moonies the subjects reported high levels of drug use and other deviance before joining the group despite 'relatively affluent' middle class backgrounds.[42] The subjects expressed happiness and strong satisfaction with their involvement in what appeared to be a rather authoritarian and regimented communal sect with a strong fundamentalist belief system and a commitment to 'serving the Lord'. The personality inventories and questionnaires were re-administered two and a half months later after the subjects had undergone an intensive resocialization in the

movement's leadership training program. Symptomatic behavior such as drug use had declined markedly, but there appeared to be little change with regard to the underlying character problems. Simmonds concludes that the devotees were essentially 'switching addictions' and that conversion to the Jesus Movement did not involve any significant personality change, but rather the subjects had found a stable and secure authoritarian setting to facilitate 'a continuation of the same basic psychological patterns had by these people before they joined the group'.[43]

We will turn briefly to some communal 'eastern' mystical groups which might be expected to be rather different from the fundamentalist 'Jesus Movement' converts or the 'Moonies'. Richardson reviews several studies involving the administration of personality inventories to followers of the late, controversial, Shree Bhagawan Rajneesh in Oregon.[44] The 'Rajneeshees' were older than typical Moonies or most other 'cultists' (even the fairly recent converts). They tended to be very highly educated, often creative, social service professionals, affluent, with over 50 per cent female and with prior backgrounds in other unconventional spiritual and therapeutic groups.[45] They reported very high levels of life-satisfaction and low levels of perceived stress. Their perceived level of social support was slightly higher and their report of recent depressive symptoms was lower than normative population baselines. Scores on public and private anxiety and private self-consciousness scales indicated introspective persons less concerned with others' opinions of them than normal. They perceived themselves to be in control of their destinies. They claimed strong self-concepts with, however, indications of a predilection toward antinomianism (that is, 'norm-doubting' types predominated over 'norm-favoring' types). The overall profile seems to undercut the plausibility of an extrinsic model of psychologically coerced induction. However, it has been noted that the imbalance of personality types in terms of too many antinomian types may have contributed to the demise of the Rajneeshpuram community in Oregon,[46] which more or less self-destructed after an escalating sequence of conflict with neighbors and arguably persecutory state authorities, culminating in violence directed by subleaders (particularly Ma Sheela, who was criminally prosecuted and imprisoned) and the guru's deportation.[47]

Personality measures administered after the traumatic forced departure of the guru showed a marked rise in depression scores, which went from significantly below to significantly above the baseline for the general population. Conceivably their earlier happiness was somewhat precarious in the sense that it required integration into a close-knit group and could not withstand the apparent disconfirmation of the group's expectations represented by the victories of the group's adversaries. It is worth noting

that some critical (but not stereotypically 'anti-cult') works on Rajneesh's movement and its ill-fated Oregon settlement have indicated that the attitudes of members and particularly of the inner circle of leadership were redolent of elitism, antinomianism, scorn and contempt for outsiders. With respect to persons and groups blocking the expansion of the Oregon community these works portray members of this sect as displaying violent proclivities, contrast identities and 'paranoid' concern for internal security and rigid boundary-maintenance.[48]

Similarly there is substantial critical literature on the Hare Krishna sect which is now in decline in the United States. A well-known study by two journalists, which uncovered the story behind two murders of devotees (one guru ultimately went to prison), also reveals apparent evidence of spiritual elitism, antinomianism, intense contempt for 'Karmis' (non-devotees enmeshed in Karmic entanglements who are said to live to kill and rape and hate devotees), paranoia and anticipations of violent conflicts ahead.[49] There is a particularly sizeable corpus of personality studies of Krishna devotees, recently reviewed by Richardson.[50] To summarize very briefly, there is strong evidence of selectivity for certain character traits and a tendency for acculturation in the group to reinforce elements selected for in the recruitment process.[51] The evidence for selection for certain personality types as well as the absence of serious psychopathology undercuts the relevance of extrinsic brainwashing and induced pathology models. There were the usual reports[52] of persons from advantaged backgrounds becoming involved in deviant behavior, identity crises, rejection of parental authority and generalized spiritual seeking prior to conversion, followed by dramatic declines in drug use and social alienation, plus self-reports of satisfaction.[53]

Certain interesting results arise, however, from the administration of instruments such as the MMPI, The (Jungian) Meyers-Briggs Inventory, the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale and other personality measures. In one study, 93 devotees appeared to be markedly homogeneous in terms of a character type described as sensate-oriented, pleasure-seeking, but anxious about a perceived recurrent danger of falling victim to an endless pursuit of sense gratification. The authors report that such persons were particularly attracted to this regimented sect because it combines puritanical rejection of a range of intoxicants, and strict regulation of sex behavior with ecstatic spiritual practices such as repetitive, rhythmic chanting and dancing, that is, experiential enjoyment is rejected on the mundane level but embraced on the transcendent level.[54] They also found that devotees tend toward dogmatic thinking and intolerance regarding the beliefs and lifestyles of others.[55] Another study found devotees scoring high on *compulsivity*, that is, they have a strong need for order (males' scores are significantly higher than normal range). Devotees also score high on social conformity and

emotional stability and low on trust (but scores were not outside the normal range).[56] Richardson notes the convergence between the Weiss-Comrey and the Poling-Kenny studies in terms of dogmatic thinking, judgmental constraints on latent impulsivity, and rigidity in certain areas, as well as the absence of serious pathology.[57]

III. Authoritarianism and Totalism

In general, certain interrelated traits seem to show up in various studies involving personality inventories administered to devotees of close-knit, and somewhat regimented, clearly bounded communal sects which demand behavioral conformity and adherence to distinctive beliefs from their adherents. Although configurations vary from group to group, elements of rigidity,[58] intolerance, over-control of latent (sexual or aggressive) impulsivity, and a dependency on authoritarian leaders seem to crop up recurrently. These elements coexist with self-reports of diminished stress, termination of drug use, strong beliefs and tight solidarity. Recruits to such groups, which first came to prominence during or not long after the period of the 'counter-culture' (late 1960s to late 1970s), appear to be disproportionately affluent youth with pre-conversion 'broken narratives' involving alienation, rebelliousness, identity problems, drug use and openness to social experimentation.

It appears to the present writers that these patterns suggest the sequence posited by Erikson, in which identity confusion in modern society leads to experimentation and deviant behavior eventually leading to involvement in movements characterized by strong boundaries, denigration of certain outsiders, strong and sometimes intolerant beliefs, tight solidarity and idealized authoritarian leadership. We also note that some of the devotee personality traits seem to evoke the well-known concept of the *authoritarian personality*, particularly as simplified by Bob Altemeyer, who condenses authoritarianism in terms of its three key components: *Conventionalization* (social conformity, strong support for normative ideas and practices); *Authoritarian Submission* (deference to hierarchical superiors and authorities, dependency on authoritarian leadership and decision-making); and *Authoritarian Aggression* (extrapunitiveness and hostility directed against minorities and socially designated objects of scorn).[59]

As we have seen, there is suggestive if not conclusive evidence that elements linked to the personality variables authoritarianism-dogmatism[60] characterize the devotees of some of the controversial, structurally authoritarian and 'totalistic' religious movements or 'cults', although little direct research has been done on measuring authoritarianism *per se* in these

settings. On the other hand, at least three studies have produced correlations between authoritarianism or dogmatism in religious settings and Protestant fundamentalism, and between both authoritarianism and dogmatism and varieties of social prejudice and scapegoating.[61]

At this point we might tentatively advance nine characteristics which appear to us to be shared by authoritarian personalities, fundamentalists and authoritarian cults such as Hare Krishna, the Unification Church, etc:

(1) *Separatism*[62] or the heightened sensitivity and tension regarding group boundaries. This usually includes 'Authoritarian Aggression' which entails rejecting and punitive attitudes toward deviants, minorities and outsiders.[63]
(2) *Theocratic leanings* or willingness to see the state expanded so as to enforce the group's particular moral and ideological preferences at the expense of pluralism or church-state separation.
(3) *Authoritarian submission* entailing dependency on strong leaders and deferential attitudes toward authorities and hierarchical superiors.
(4) Some form of *conventionalism* in terms of both belief and practice. Apparent exceptions such as antinomian groups, for example, the Bhagawan movement of Rajneesh or the quasi-Marxist Peoples Temple of Jim Jones which will be discussed later.
(5) *Apocalypticism.*[64]
(6) *Evangelism* or a focus on proselytization and conversion.
(7) *Coercive tendencies* in terms of either punitive reactions toward internal dissidence and non-conformity (for example, exile from fellowship, shunning, harsh 'self-criticism,' confessional sessions) or willingness to have non-conformists suppressed or discouraged by the state.
(8) *Consequentialism* or a tendency to see moral or ideological virtue producing tangible rewards to believers. This may entail belief in a 'just world' in which the good are tangibly rewarded and the wicked undone on the human plane.[65]
(9) Finally, groups whose members tend to score high in authoritarianism or dogmatism tend to have strong beliefs and to make doctrinal acceptance a membership criterion. As with 'Moonies' studied by Galanter (among whom strong belief was correlated with feelings of group solidarity and the 'relief effect'), authoritarians and fundamentalists appear to have a strong 'investment' in their beliefs.[66]

We want now to bring 'totalism' back into the picture and ultimately to return Erikson's analysis of totalism and our (in our view Eriksonian) concepts of exemplary dualism and contrast identities to center stage. The most important writers who have recently employed this concept are Robert Lifton and his colleague Charles Strozier.[67] Both writers have explicitly

linked totalism and fundamentalism.[68] Interestingly they tend to define fundamentalism in terms very close to descriptions of authoritarianism; for example, fundamentalist childrearing practices – allegedly strict, repressive, corporally punitive and guilt-inducing – resemble the familial milieux associated with authoritarian personalities.[69] The emphasis by Lifton and Strozier on fundamentalist scriptural literalism, textual fetishism, obsession with disorder, nostalgia for a strongly ordered golden age less chaotic than the present, and emphasis on restoration keyed to inerrant scriptural texts, appears to evoke classic depictions of authoritarian personalities.[70] But the Lifton-Strozier conception of fundamentalism is overgeneralized.[71]

This overgeneralization is particularly notable in Lifton's recent writings.[72] Lifton identifies 'a sacred literalized text' and apocalypticism ('a new heaven and new earth') as the hallmarks of fundamentalism,[73] which he also conceptualizes in quasi-authoritarian personality terms as the opposite pole of proteanism or post-modern universalized relativism and multivocality.[74] Fundamentalism and proteanism represent antithetical responses to cultural fragmentation. Fundamentalism thus appears as a kind of crypto-authoritarianism and dogmatism: a closed and rigid system based on an inerrant sacred text that admits of only one meaning which is comprehensive and defines the compelling correct choice in all of life's contingencies. Conceived as such, fundamentalism is viewed as volatile and potentially violent.

But this very generalized conception creates more problems than it solves. For Lifton, cultist, fundamentalist and totalist almost appear to be three equivalent categories. Cults are totalistic and part of the 'worldwide epidemic of fundamentalism'.[75] Elsewhere Lifton gives four examples of totalistic cults: The Unification Church, Scientology, Jim Jones' Peoples Temple and The Branch Davidians.[76] Yet, with the possible exceptions of the Branch Davidians, these groups are not fundamentalist in any generally accepted sense. For instance, the Peoples Temple was hardly a restorationist group oriented toward a golden age and a sacred scripture; for example, Jones denounced the Bible as sexist, racist, repressive, etc. Lifton's, and to a lesser extent Strozier's, overgeneralized conception of fundamentalism and its equation with cults and totalism has the consequence of creating too many false positives. In addition interpreting cults as a subcategory of fundamentalism makes it difficult for Lifton and Strozier to insightfully analyze certain 'cult' movements which, while they may be totalistic, structurally authoritarian, highly dualistic in worldview and in attitudes toward outgroups, and volatile-violent, nevertheless are not 'fundamentalist' in terms of some of the more specific elements of their definition. Moreover, many such groups may not be associated with the stereotyped rigid childrearing patterns characteristic of authoritarian

personalities or traditional fundamentalism. Particularly troublesome from the standpoint of models based on traditional fundamentalist stereotypes are antinomian, post-modern (and arguably somewhat protean) volatile cults such as the movement led by Bhagawan Shree Rajneesh.[77]

Nevertheless as we have noted, Lifton recently developed the theme of proteanism and fundamentalism as mirror opposites. Linked to totalism, the latter is depicted in terms of 'the fight against chaos' and the organization of the self in terms of a polarity of good/bad selves – the latter being ultimately projected onto contrast groups.[78] According to Erikson, as we have seen, identity confusion may lead to an embrace of totalism as a pseudo-remedy. Similarly, in Lifton's view, one embraces fundamentalism 'in order to overcome the sense of despair and hopelessness associated with fragmentation ... the new relationship to fundamentalism can help sustain the self',[79] but often only temporarily as the new fundamentalist self 'always totalistic in spirit' presses toward an ultimately unattainable purity.[80] Fundamentalist totalism is thus 'always on the edge of violence, because it ever mobilizes for an absolute confrontation with designated evil, thereby justifying any action taken to eliminate the evil'.[81]

According to Lifton and Strozier, a sense of dynamic action being taken against the forces of evil and (of necessity) their human embodiments often appears necessary to sustain a sense of wholeness. In this way the totalists are actually somewhat *psychologically dependent upon their contrast groups who symbolize evil.* Confrontation with evil is essential although the latter can often be avoided or sublimated through strenuous efforts at converting the (potentially satanic) contrast group,[82] thus actively confronting and contending with the forces of evil and preserving the rigid boundaries of the totalist-fundamentalist self without violence. Should the conversionist strategy be rejected (for example, through intense separatism) or derailed (for example, Jim Jones desperately removing his group from California to the jungle of Guyana to preserve autonomy), violence may become more likely as valorizing confrontation must be sought by other means. If violence ensues, it may be facilitated through dissociative *doubling* as a splitting off of a fragment of self which perpetrates violence and remains essentially out of contact with the 'loving' and 'normal' familial, devotional or church-going self.[83]

It appears that notwithstanding some confusions which we have noted, the interrelated, mutually referential analyses of Lifton and Strozier are close to our own discussion of Erikson on totalist movements. Troubled and often guilt-ridden young persons emerging from 'broken narratives' and experiencing identity confusion seek a sense of wholeness and the healing of self-fragmentation. A totalist movement possessing a highly dualistic worldview and preoccupied with evil and impending doom provides a

foundation for an idealized self-concept, the viability of which may depend upon the splitting off of negativity and perceived weakness which can be projected onto doctrinally designated 'contrast groups'. A potential for violence inheres in the psychological dependence of totalists on their contrast category and the impulse toward confrontation. Under certain conditions, given intrusive or provocative behavior on the part of non-believers, who are seen as 'only tentatively human', then 'the psychological conditions exist to make it possible for believers to accommodate violence toward non-believers'.[84]

As we have indicated, the analysis of 'cults' and volatile religious movements offered recently by Robert Lifton and Charles Strozier is convergent with the predilection of the present writers for an extrapolation of some of Erikson's views embellished with our notion of contrast identities. Two problems vitiate the force of the Lifton-Strozier analysis. There is a tendency to see 'cults' in terms evocative of fundamentalist Protestantism and right-wing authoritarianism, a stereotype which may be inapplicable to some distinctly volatile movements such as Jim Jones' tragic Peoples Temple and particularly the Bhagawan movement of Shree Rajneesh. A closely related problem entails the dependence of Lifton and Strozier's theories on assumptions about harsh, punitive child-rearing patterns which produce a baggage of guilt but which tend to be associated with fundamentalist backgrounds and those of 'right-wing authoritarians'.[85] In general there is probably a broader range of problematic religious, religio-therapy, and political movements than can be fitted to a procrustean bed of classic 'authoritarian personalities' and militant fundamentalist Christians as well as the punitive child-rearing patterns which tend to have been associated with such backgrounds and personalities.

IV. Split Selves, Projective Identification and Depending Upon 'Enemies'

The limitations of the Lifton-Strozier model produces a sort of cul-de-sac which can perhaps be evaded if we go back to Erik Erikson's early (1942) article, 'Hitler's Imagery and German Youth'[86] which stresses the lack of a coherent integrative ethic as a key factor which undermines authoritarian child-rearing patterns and turns children in the direction of antinomian rebellion against fathers perceived as weak. The defeat of Germany in the First World War and the confusion and disorder of the Weimar period tended to discredit the values of fathers and undermine their confidence such that their attempts to impose traditional patriarchal authoritarian patterns on their children were undercut. Their children developed a strong ambivalence toward authority. They tended to reject the authority of their

parents whom they perceived as inwardly uncertain of their values and sense of self and thus ultimately hypocritical and arbitrary in their attempts to assert authority. Yet they yearned for a strong, consistent and value-oriented authority figure – a self-confident, forceful and dynamic 'Fuehrer'.

A small echo of Erikson's theory can be seen in the recent suggestion by a sociologist that American culture and media in the 1950s and early 1960s idealized strong fathers – the 'Father Knows Best' model – which, however, created developmental stresses in children who often perceived their actual fathers as weak and lacking in inner direction. This conflict may have contributed to the subsequent attraction in the late 1960s and 1970s of young persons to authoritarian movements led by patriarchal gurus who function as strong identification figures.[87] In our view, however, an important implication of Erikson's paper is the emphasis on the need for an integrative ethic in a context of cultural coherence to ease developmental tensions and the consequent tendencies for a fragmented culture to create a setting for the emergence of fragmented identities. The development of negative identities and the need for an 'external conscience' to compensate for the uncertain internalization of clear values can thus be uncoupled from particular stereotyped child-rearing models.

At this point we want to look briefly at another study, a somewhat jaundiced examination of the youthful 'New Left' of the late 1960s and 1970s by Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter.[88] The importance of this study is that it looks at the personalities and developmental background of the devotees of volatile movements who embrace counter-cultural ideologies, 'protean' lifestyles and identities. Such new leftists were substantially divergent from the classic right-wing authoritarians and fundamentalist militants whose attributes and backgrounds influenced Lifton and Strozier. Administering questionnaires to over one thousand students from four northeastern universities, the researchers divided their sample into radicals, moderates and conservatives as well as into Jews and gentiles. Radicals were notable for their higher scores on a measure of a 'narcissistic personality' pattern. Narcissistic personalities suffer unstable oscillation of their sense of self between a grandiose, idealized self-image and a radically devalued self. These individuals tend to seek status confirming cues in interpersonal relations and are unable to form stable bonds based on empathy and authentic mutuality.[89] In addition, radicals tended to view parents as uncaring, punitive (in the sense of critical and negative but not necessarily coercive) and weak. Jewish radicals were more likely to report having come from matriarchal family structures in contrast to the distinctly patriarchal milieux of classical authoritarian personalities. Jewish radicals had strong and intrusive mothers.

The authors pinpoint a 'Rigid Rebel' type who rebels against all traditional kinds of authority. The authors see this personality as a kind of special subtype of the Authoritarian Personality. The latter identify positively with their fathers and express their ambivalence toward authority by projecting resentment onto outgroups and minorities while remaining deferential toward conventional authorities. The rebels represent a kind of inverse authoritarianism; they view their parents more negatively, and they rebel against all forms of conventional, institutionalized authority. New leftists of this type are seen as rigid, doctrinaire revolutionaries who want to substitute doctrinaire revolutionary authority for detested institutionalized authority. However, the influence of Rigid Rebels in the New Left of the 1960s and early 1970s was diminished by the greater incidence of another kind of inverse authoritarian type, the Protean Rebel[90] whose numbers tend to include a majority of the Jewish rebels and who have a low tolerance for any form of hierarchical authority. Protean rebels tend to act out antinomian, anti-authoritarian patterns. The authors identify such persons with late 1960s' groups such as hippies and yippies which emphasized expressive spontaneity and communal warmth.

The importance of the Rothman and Lichter study, for our purposes, is partly in terms of the identification of *inverse authoritarians* who have hang-ups with authority and who share some elements of the authoritarian personality syndrome but who rebel against traditional authority. They may represent a type of totalistic personality which emerges when the values and authority of the parents of young persons appear less solid, secure and self-evident. Instead of manifesting the conservatism of standard authoritarians, some young persons with deep ambivalence toward authority may overtly turn against their parents' values and institutions; however, their rebellion may conceal some of the elements of polarized cells, ambivalence and contrast identities which characterize classic right-wing authoritarians.

The other significance of the Rothman and Lichter study entails its highlighting of the underlying psychological formation of *narcissism.*[91] In this connection it should be noted that in theorizing about character disorders and non-psychotic conditions, recent psychoanalysis and depth psychology have evolved away from a primary concern with classic Oedipal dynamics and 'neurotic' problems involving a process of repression and instead, have evinced a heightened interest in the fragmentation of the self and processes of dissociative splitting whereby problems of identity are dealt with by the formation of opposing or polar selves: an idealized good (or powerful or successful) self and an inverse bad (weak, failed) self.[92] Disorders involving self-fragmentation lack the bio-psychic autonomy that has often been assumed to characterize

traditional psychoanalytically defined psychopathologies, which putatively arise from early childhood experiences and reflect sociocultural variables only insofar as these factors affect patterns of child-rearing. In contrast the role of sociocultural factors may be enhanced if it is assumed that coherent selves may require a coherent culture such that self-fragmentation and dissociative splitting is encouraged by disruptive social vicissitudes including the absence of an integrative social ethic.[93]

It has been a staple of recent American cultural analysis and criticism that the contemporary United States increasingly lacks a consensual and compelling social ethic and that in consequence, the 'covenant' uniting the American People has become, in Robert Bellah's words, an 'empty and broken shell'.[94] One consequence of the lack of an integrative ethic, we have intimated above, is a diminished capacity of parents – who are themselves wrestling with the fragmented selves that result from the lack of an integrated ethic – to serve as persuasive role-models or identification figures for their children, and thereby to transmit a coherent set of values. In this context parents may tend to treat their children as 'self-objects' in the sense of evaluating them in terms of tangible, purely external criteria such as their apparent social-academic-vocational 'success' or competence.[95] This pattern enhances anxiety over themes of success, competence and power on the part of the children, who are more likely to develop a fragmented or polarized self composed of a grandiose, all-powerful or omnicompetent self which is split off from a devalued, pathetic, failed self.[96]

Social movements with distinctly dualistic worldviews provide psycho-ideological contexts which facilitate attempts to heal the split self by projecting negativity and devalued self-elements onto ideologically devalued contrast symbols. But there is another possible linkage between these kinds of movements and individuals with split selves in the throes of identity confusion. People with the whole range of personality disorders, which utilize splitting and projective identification, tend to have difficulties in establishing stable, intimate relationships. Splitting tends to produce volatile and unstable relationships as candidates for intimacy are alternately idealized and denigrated. Thus, narcissists tend to have vocational, and more particularly, interpersonal difficulties as they obsessively focus upon status-reinforcing rewards in interpersonal relations. They are often perceived as selfish, manipulative and exploitative. They have difficulty developing social bonds grounded in empathy and mutuality, and their structure of interpersonal relations tends to be unstable. Thus, individuals may be tempted to enter communal and quasi-communal social movements which combine a more structured setting for interpersonal relations with a dualistic interpersonal theme of 'triangulation' which embodies the motif of 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'. Such movements create a sense of

mutuality by focusing attention on specific contrast groups and their values, goals and lifestyles so that this shared repudiation seems to unite the participants and provide a meaningful 'boundary' to operationalize the identity of the group.[97] Solidarity within the group and the convert's sense of dedication and sacrifice on behalf of group goals may enable him or her to repudiate the dissociated negative (bad, weak or failed) self and the related selfish or exploitative self which they may be aware that others might have perceived. These devalued selves can then be projected on to either scapegoats designated by the group or, more generally, non-believers whose values and behavior allegedly do not attain the exemplary purity and authenticity of that of devotees.

Finally, persons who lack clear self-definition are likely to have a strong dependency on others and thus to become 'addicted' to certain group involvements. Persons with fragmented selves are often particularly dependent on external feedback. 'Consequentialism' or an 'extrinsic' orientation toward religion as a source of social and other rewards, a correlate of the authoritarian personality, is likely to be strong in persons lacking clear self-definition, who are candidates for social dependency. Such persons may continually attempt to establish relationships with parental replacements, for example, narcissistic personality types are oriented toward establishing relationships with powerful and successful persons and may be attracted to strong leaders, while persons with 'borderline personality disorder' seek relationships with idealized nurturers. Movements with worldviews which we would typify as 'exemplary dualism' provide converts with an idealized system of exemplary values and leaders. Positive values and traits can be attributed to leaders with whom participants can identify and thus become themselves exemplars. Negative exemplars are also specified such that negative feelings of failure, lack of worth, weakness, or badness, once part of a split-off self-image, can be projected onto outsiders, non-believers and 'enemies' who are alien to the idealized system.

Yet such systems tend to be unstable, and the movements which embody them are often ephemeral as the assignments of exemplary 'parts' to actors and symbols are continually shifting and being re-negotiated. Exemplary charismatic leaders may find it difficult to live up to their exalted roles in which idealized, almost superhuman properties are assigned to flawed and fallible, and sometimes rather transparently manipulative and exploitative, individuals.[98] Groups led by charismatic leaders are prone to schisms and ruptures.[99] Finally devotees who scrounge and sacrifice for demanding totalist sects may develop – and dissociate – a latent resentment against the group and its leaders such that under stressful conditions the whole idealized system can be subject to reversal in which the idealized exemplar

becomes the radically devalued objectification of evil. This dynamic may contribute to the frequent success of confrontational 'deprogramming', and other organized 'anti-cult' persuasive processes from which former devotees of 'cults' often emerge as furious crusaders against the leaders and movements they once identified with: 'world-savers' now saving the world from rather than for Reverend Moon or some other messianic prophet or guru.

One factor which contributes to instability is the nature of 'projective identification' as a mechanism through which contrast identities, idealized belief systems, and polar 'disbelief' systems are built up.[100] Projection is often a distancing device which responds to a fear of engulfment. Projective identification,[101] on the other hand, entails a dependency relationship, that is, projectors become partly psychologically dependent upon their objects and feedback from the objects who must 'act their parts' to sustain the system. Contrast identities which develop in movement and ideological contexts, as well as the split self patterns of narcissists and people with other personality disorders, tend to entail projective identification rather than simple projection. Feedback from contrast symbols is needed to heal fragmented self-systems.[102] But the feedback requirement and the partial dependency of contrast identities on their projective objects renders such systems particularly unstable, as positive and negative identifications frequently shift and reverse or may even co-exist in the same projective identification. The instability of systems of projective identification and the psychological dependency of projecting dualists on their objects, particularly devalued outsiders and demonized 'enemies', are probably a vital factor enhancing the instability and volatility (for example, high defection rates, schisms, occasional violence) of totalistic movements with exemplary dualistic ideologies and participants with emerging contrast identities.

Exemplary dualist movements implicitly promise participants a large psychological reward related in part to an escape from their frustrating histories of cycles of failed projective identifications and reversals. Such an escape will supposedly be made possible by grounding ultimate, irreversible identifications in absolute values. However, such values tend to be pervaded by negativity in the sense that the ideals sought by the movement are often defined primarily negatively in terms of the vehement rejection of contrast groups and milieux qua exemplars of degradation and evil. The overarching dualism and negativity feed the impulse toward confrontation which often works out differently than predicted by the group, and consequently proves to be an unsatisfactory or merely short-term solution to identity problems. This pattern may work out somewhat differently, however, in different kinds of movements.

V. The Volatility of Exemplary Dualism

We might tentatively classify the kind of movements we have been dealing with in this study into two types: *norm-affirming* (or somewhat more conventionally authoritarian) movements and *norm-rejecting* (antinomian) movements. Although the 'affirmed' norms may be implicitly defined negatively in terms of contrast symbols, there are actual rules and doctrines which may shift over time yet have some stability. In norm-affirming movements, patterns with some (variable) similarity to both traditional authoritarianism and fundamentalism may exist underneath a distinctive anti-establishment, bohemian or countercultural superstructure. Hare Krishna and the Unification Church (in its American heyday, 1974–84) may be examples. This kind of movement is more likely to be overtly apocalyptic or millennialist in its worldview. A classic example of a norm-rejecting or conspicuously antinomian movement is the Bhagawan Movement of Shree Bhagawan Rajneesh, whose membership, it will be recalled, was found in one study to manifest a distinct imbalance in terms of a great preponderance of norm-rejecting types.[103] Other similar groups, often associated with the 'crazy wisdom' guru tradition, have also been identified.[104] Some intermediate groups may conceivably exist in which a norm-affirming pattern has been somewhat transformed in the direction of a norm-rejecting pattern by an increasingly absolute, eccentric and antinomian, charismatic prophet such as Jim Jones.

In norm-rejecting or antinomian groups contrast identities are reinforced through acting-out patterns in which the devotees' effective rejection of received normative patterns is viewed as validating their heroic uniqueness and advanced spirituality.[105] Yet it may be difficult to build stable identities and lifestyles through the hedonist activation of desires. Problems of the over-excitation of desire, of the unrealistic expectation of satisfaction, and the resulting inevitable frustration, what Durkheim referred to as 'the infinity of the ego', as well as anomic disorientation related to a sudden withdrawal of constraint may ensue. The mounting frustration, disorientation and general distress cannot reasonably be explained without questioning the values of the group, but increasingly the iniquity and machinations of outsiders may take the blame, that is, the uptight world is seen as ruining things for the spiritual elite. The result is that a cycle of increasingly severe confrontations with contrast groups ensues. Such hostile confrontations, already likely in consequence of neighbors' shocked response to the movement's provocative antinomianism, become more intense and bitter, and may, as they did with Rajneesh or Synanon, eventually result in overt violence against the outside world.

Moreover, an 'emancipatory' ideology of anti-restraint provides little

basis for evolving a rational basis for social organization or a legitimation of decision and rule-making. The development of both democratic and bureaucratic organization tends to be inhibited and absolute arbitrary authority may be vested in the charismatic guru as the purified exemplar of spiritual awakening and the New Age. Thus intolerance of institutionalized authority may, paradoxically, lead to a particularly arbitrary exercise of power by an eccentric leader. One such, actually very intelligent guru, Shree Bhagawan Rajneesh, may have had few positive goals and ideas beyond iconoclastic antinomianism and an emancipatory ethos of anti-repression. Thus he periodically lapsed into isolation and passivity and delegated unrestricted authority to subleaders such as the extremely dualistic, authoritarian and violent Ma Sheela, whose activities were particularly salient in dooming Rajneeshpuram.[106]

Finally, problems are created by the contradiction between the emancipatory, antinomian ideology and the actual pattern of communal life in such groups which, notwithstanding some greater license in areas such as sexual and other hedonist behavior, may be authoritarian and regimented in many respects. Such regulation in the context of a libertarian ethos creates resentments, which may not be fully understood and acknowledged by devotees and leaders; thus anger may be displaced onto outsiders and 'enemies', or projected onto the latter, who may be seen to conspire against the citadel of liberation.

The other kind of exemplary dualist movement, somewhat inadequately designated by the present writers as norm-affirming, is characterized by definite strong beliefs, and in particular, theocratically tinged millenarian and apocalyptic visions, as well as sets of ascetic moral rules. Many of these groups have another peculiarity in the form of beliefs which express an expectation that *the group itself will have a vital role to play in the final apocalyptic events* of 'end-times' and the birth of a new Millennium. Thus, 'survivalist groups in Idaho', notes Strozier, '... tend to believe that Jesus will rapture them into the clouds only in the middle or at the end of Tribulation, because they want to experience the violence directly and fight it out with the beast'.[107] This expectation operates to intensify the psychological dependency of the apocalyptics on the demonized contrast groups who must either appear to be capable of being either 'won over' or defeated in the future. That is, contrast groups should express hostility, even conspiratorial aggression toward the beleaguered spiritual vanguard but must not appear to be able to destroy the latter, particularly under humiliating and trivializing circumstances which discredit the grandiose, apocalyptic 'Last Days' scenario.

The contrast identity system of both norm-rejecting and norm-affirming movements may thus become somewhat precarious by virtue of the need to

elicit a confirming (or at least avoid a definitively disconfirming) response from outsiders and/or societal authorities. As indicated above, the faith in a 'just world' where virtue is rewarded, the related extrinsic or consequentialist orientation toward faith, intense concern with and ambivalence toward power, and the ideological context of Manichean absolutism all reinforce each other and act to intensify the psychological tension connected to the apocalyptic scenario and the psychoactive potential of the response of the demonized.

If we look at three groups which have spectacularly 'exploded' (or 'imploded') with apparent collective suicides (or suicide-murder sequences) in the last two decades, the Peoples Temple at Jonestown, the Branch Davidians at Waco, and the Order of the Solar Temple in Switzerland and Quebec, we can discern what appear to be *triggering events* involving encounters with political authorities. These events precipitated disaster because they escalated a tangible conflict with officials and 'enemies', which, given the ideology, expectations and vulnerabilities of the groups' projective systems, ceased to be psychologically manageable.

In some cases a group seeks to preserve autonomy and detach itself from conflicts by withdrawing into insulated isolation – the 'Mormon solution'.[108] The retreatist strategy can backfire, however, if only because in modern society thoroughly isolated retreats – unsettled, pristine 'Utahs' – are not easy to come by. The Peoples Temple came pretty close to the ideal in their settlement in 'Jonestown' in Guyana, but it may have created more problems than it solved. Initially, effective isolation precluded blaming the contrast symbols for problems of communal life, for example, crop failure, new challenges to Jones' charismatic authority.[109] Jones responded by continually magnifying and exaggerating the dimensions of the all-powerful and pervasive 'conspiracy' thought to be aimed at the movement. As John Hall has argued, Jones vacillated between the goal of consolidating an insulated sanctuary and the frenzied impulse to confront the sinister demons – at least symbolically through paranoid visions integrated into the general negativism of group beliefs.[110] Jones' retreatist strategy was undercut by his increasing emphasis, somewhat similar to that of David Koresh, on the inescapable struggle to come against a relentless and nearly omnipotent conspiracy. 'Jones vacillated between an ethic of confrontation and an ethic of sanctuary.'[111] When an unwanted visitation by a congressman who had developed connections with anti-cultists materialized, Jones and his close associates assumed the worst and attacked the congressman's party as they were about to embark – with a handful of defectors – for the United States. The consequences of this incident were assumed to be terminal for the settlement – soon to be overrun by CIA mercenaries or some other sinister force. Mass suicide (and some murders actually included) would at least

preserve the symbolic if not material status of the group, that is, Jones *et al.* would attain what Lifton has termed 'revolutionary immortality'. 'Mass suicide united the divergent public threads of meaningful existence at Jonestown – those of political revolution and religious salvation.'[112]

The 'Mormon Solution' also has the consequence that the group willingly curtails proselytization and conversion of outsiders as a mode of low level and 'safe' confrontation with demonic forces, the diminution of which, through defections to the Godly Vanguard, keep alive the hope of ultimate triumph. Surrendering this vision may undercut the belief system and may entail more violent 'Last Days' scenarios and more dangerous patterns of 'confrontation'. To put the issue a bit differently, Marc Galanter notes that proselytization has environmentally adaptive consequences in the sense that the group must engage in some rational reality testing in order to be able to connect with the reality constructions of (even troubled) outsiders who might be drawn in. Groups which give up conversion efforts tend to shift their energies to internal surveillance and monitoring members to maintain group solidarity and integration. In this context, maintaining the group boundary inviolate and warding off penetration becomes a vital imperative. 'The arrival of Congressman Ryan portended the imminent disruption of the group's control over its boundary, and thereby precipitated the final events at Jonestown.' The exodus of defectors with Ryan symbolized the failure of the all-important monitoring process. Moreover, the Congressman himself symbolized the effective penetration of the group by state authority. 'Once it became apparent that his cult's boundary could no longer be secured, Jones chose to preserve its identity in spirit if not in living membership.'[113]

A less extreme model of the holy communal enclave is represented by the Branch Davidian settlement at Waco, Texas. Indeed this group and its leader were less volatile than Jones *et al.*, as it required a military style air-and-ground assault by federal agents and a subsequent FBI assault with tank-rams and tear gas to provoke the ultimate Davidian holocaust (widely presumed to be a mass suicide). The first assault by the enforcers of 'alcohol, firearms and tobacco' regulations had obvious implications for confirming the group's apocalyptic, mid-tribulationist vision of persecution at End-Times. But the possibility that Koresh would have to negotiate a surrender and be quietly removed to prison, such that the confrontation would end 'not with a bang but a whimper', threatened a decisive disconfirmation of apocalyptic expectations and seems to have inhibited Koresh from making the saving accommodation part of him humanely wanted.[114] For exemplary dualistic sects with highly apocalyptic worldviews constructed through projective identifications both confirmation and disconfirmation can be dangerous if they seem too clear and vivid.[115]

We do not know enough about the Solar Temple Order, associated with suicides in houses in Switzerland and Quebec in the spring of 1994, to 'explain' its tragic end definitively. We do know, however, that the 'leader', Luc Jouret (who may or may not have been deposed shortly before the suicides) taught a mixture of mystical-occult ideas tinged with Rosicrucianism and early Freemasonry combined with an increasingly specific apocalyptic scenario and evocations of a 'global plan' involving the group.[116] We know that the views of Jouret and co-leader Di Mambro were strongly Manichean. Di Mambro ultimately saw evil as embodied in the infant son of an apostate couple, who was viewed as the Antichrist. The child was murdered with his parents shortly before the murder-suicides in Switzerland. We also know that Jouret made his followers feel like, in a former member's words, 'a chosen and privileged congregation',[117] and exercised authoritarian control over their lives.[118] Finally we know that 'Jouret fled Canada for Switzerland last year [1993] following a confrontation with authorities over firearms charges, apparently convinced that he was the victim of a state conspiracy to obliterate the sect and ruin him personally'.[119] So there may have been a triggering event which appeared to foreshadow an official crackdown on the group of a somewhat humiliating and trivializing nature – another 'not with a bang but with a whimper' denouement posing an obvious threat to contrast identities.

VI. Conclusion

We will conclude this analysis with some brief observations and qualifications relating to the ideas expressed above:

(1) Our conclusions are viewed by the writers as more suggestive than conclusive or definitively validated empirically. They may be useful in focusing future research and investigations.

(2) We do not necessarily view the members of exemplary dualist groups as mentally ill or deeply disturbed relative to average levels of developmental maturity in the general population. We do believe that such groups appeal to individuals with certain identity constructions and difficulties. Nevertheless some degree of splitting, projective identification and polarized identity may be 'normal' for most people in mainstream culture.

People with completely holistic selves with an integrated ethical orientation rather than a split-off negative external conscience may be relatively unusual, particularly in periods when general meaning orientations in the culture as a whole have declined in coherence and plausibility. Split-off good and bad components of the self may ordinarily

be suppressed and/or adaptively integrated into normal social functioning by exemplary dualist trends in mainstream culture. (Mainstream culture also, of course, has dimensions that contribute to the development of holistic selves.) When mainstream cultural coherence declines, and anomie and identity confusion become more common, active seeking for exemplary dualist involvements is one possible solution to immediate psychic pain, especially when keyed to developmental stress such as the identity crisis that Erikson considers a normal feature of adolescence. Matters of degree and situational contingencies may determine the outcomes of stresses and the involvement of such individuals in movements of varying degrees of extremism.

(3) Some movements probably offer actual advantages rather than disadvantages, *vis-à-vis* mainstream culture with respect to the issue of the maturational development of the self system towards a holistic rather than a totalistic structure. This study has focused upon the pathological effects of exemplary dualist groups, because most of the literature relative to the relation between alternative social movements and individual issues of self-formation highlights the pathological end of the spectrum. Nevertheless the rich tradition of the analysis of totalitarian influence, which includes seminal thinkers such as Fromm, Adorno *et al.*, Lifton and Erikson, discusses at least in passing optimal identity formation in relation to optimal social ethics as well as pathological selves and ethics. This literature then offers a starting point for the development of a research and theoretical tradition which could analyze the full spectrum of pathological and eupsychic effects of alternative social movements. In the future we hope to contribute to the development of that tradition by describing the role of some alternative movements in contributing to the integration of coherent selves as well as offering further insight into how some movements make fragmented selves worse rather than better.

(4) We hope our ideas will find their usefulness in helping to predict which groups are likely to be volatile, dangerous and violent. However, given some potential for violence, our 'characterological' or 'psychologistic' approach, paradoxically, highlights the importance of *official response*. Narcissism and projective identification are sometimes thought of a representing an *immature* developmental pattern,[120] which many children grow out of with the help of a good parent whose combination of purposive strength and empathic mirroring helps the child to evolve a more complex and differentiated (and less anxious) image of themselves as well as of their parents and other agents in the world. Governments are ill-equipped to be 'good parents' to volatile extremist groups, and moreover, must give safety and law enforcement considerations priority. Nevertheless, hasty, aggressive actions and 'cowboy' style

enforcement puts the State in the role of the arbitrary 'bad parent' who inadvertently validates the most extreme visions and terrifyingly simplistic or 'paranoid' identifications, to the detriment of public safety.

(5) Finally, we are aware that our approach tends to treat movements as unitary entities, which may be misleading. Do the psychodynamics at the core of our theoretical orientation pertain to all or just to some of the converts, or mainly to the leader? While acknowledging some distortion, we would nevertheless argue that the charismatic leader will often exemplify the dynamics of the social psychology of the group he leads – this is why he can function as its charismatic leader. The personality and psychology of the leader reflects and embodies the needs and tensions besetting the group/society and many of its members. This is why he is able to mobilize support and ultimately impose his views. This is precisely the point made by Erikson about Hitler in his pioneering essay.[121] The perceived personality and orientations of the leader are seen to represent a purified or 'larger than life' embodiment of problems and conflicts animating his followers, to which, moreover, he is seen as having the solution. Although the followers may misperceive the leader or irrationally project their needs and feelings on to him/her, the model of charismatic leadership nevertheless assumes some convergence between the personality dynamics of the leaders and of the followers.

NOTES

1. Originally shown in 1993 or 1994, *Apocrypha* was rerun on the Arts & Entertainment cable channel on 9 Dec. 1994.
2. Sociologists have devoted considerable attention to public opinion processes and media images pertaining to 'cults'. Significant papers on this topic appear in the following three volumes: Jeffrey Pfeifer and James Ogloff (eds), *Cults and the Law*, a special issue of *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 1/1 (Jan. 1992); James Lewis (ed.), *From the Ashes: Making Sense of Waco* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littelfield, 1994); Stuart Wright (ed.), *Armageddon in Waco* (Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1995).
3. The earlier mass suicide at Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978 was highly significant in terms of generating widespread hostility toward 'cults'. On the Jonestown tragedy, see John Hall, *Gone from the Promised Land* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1987). On the Branch Davidian crisis at Waco, see Lewis (note 2), and Wright (note 2).
4. On debates over brainwashing and 'cults', see Pfeifer and Ogloff (note 2); David Bromley and James Richardson (eds), *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1983); Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, 'Brainwashing and Totalitarian Influence', *Encyclopedia of Human Behavior*, Vol.1 (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1994), pp.457–71; Dick Anthony, 'Religious Movements and "Brainwashing Litigation"' in T. Robbins and D. Anthony (eds), *In Gods We Trust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1990), pp.295–344.
5. Each author used his own distinctive terminology for the Communist indoctrination process, i.e. coercive persuasion in the case of Schein, totalism and thought reform in the case of Lifton, to replace the brainwashing term that they felt misleadingly implied totally

extrinsic influence. Cf. Robert Lifton, *Chinese Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (NY: Norton, 1961); E. Schein, *Coercive Persuasion* (ibid, 1961). While coercive persuasion was a term coined by Schein himself, both of Lifton's terms were taken from other sources. Thought reform is a translation of the Chinese term that the communists themselves used to refer to their process of political education. Totalism is a term that was originally coined by Erik Erikson to refer to individual predispositions to convert to totalitarian ideologies and movements. See below.

6. In 1988 the California Supreme Court in a key opinion endorsed the notion that Schein and Lifton had affirmed relative to Communist coercive persuasion of Western prisoners that 'brainwashing exists and is remarkably effective' (Majority opinion of Judge Stanley Mosk, *et al., David Molko and Tracy Leal v. Holy Spirit for the Unification of World Christianity* 762 p.2d 46 (Cal. 1988), p.52.) [On the other hand, in 1990 a federal court rejected the view that Lifton's and Schein's research supported cultic brainwashing testimony, see Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, 'Law, Social Science and the 'Brainwashing Exception to the First Amendment', *Behavioral Science and the Law* 10/1 (1992), pp.5–30].
7. Erik Erikson, 'Wholeness and Totality – A Psychiatric Contribution' in Carl L. Friederich (ed.), *Totalitarianism: A Proceeding of a Conference at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1953), pp.156–71.
8. Nevertheless, one of the present writers has previously shown that the findings from Schein's study of Maoist indoctrination of Western prisoners also undermine the extreme extrinsic model in some respects (Anthony (note 4), pp.299–316.) Thus, Schein considered the Chinese program of POW indoctrination a relative failure given the resources allocated. [Edgar Schein, 'The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War: A Study of Attempted "Brainwashing"', in Maccoby *et al.* (eds), *Readings in Social Psychology* (NY: Holt, nd), p.332. See also Anthony (note 4), p.302 and n.9 (p.330)] Unlike the cult brainwashing 'experts', Schein considered physical imprisonment such a vital element of communist psychological coercion that he built it into his definition of 'coercive persuasion'. [Schein (note 5), pp.125–7, quoted in Anthony (note 4), p.310.] Elsewhere Schein suggests that elements of coercive persuasion may be found in many conventional institutions such as legitimate religious orders and denominations, college fraternities, etc. This latter view expands the conception beyond physical constraint but affords little basis for separating 'cults' from other institutions, as coercive persuasion becomes nearly ubiquitous. Though physically debilitated, Western prisoners were mentally alert and rational while being subjected to thought reform and did not exhibit defective thought patterns (see Anthony and Robbins (note 6)). Moreover, Schein suggests that the popular image of 'brainwashing' as entailing 'extensive self-delusion and excessive [mental] distortion ... is a false one. ('Schein (note 5), pp.202–3, 238–9. Quoted in Anthony (note 4), p.311.) Schein also contends that hypnotic trance and dissociative states are not characteristic of coercive persuasion, which is intended 'to produce ideological and behavioral changes in a fully conscious, intact individual'. (Edgar Schein, 'Brainwashing and Totalitarianization in Modern Society', *World Politics* 2 (1959), pp.330–41; Anthony (note 4), p.316.) Finally, Schein rejects both the term 'brainwashing' and the assumption that communist ideas were initially alien and antithetical to all American POWs in Korea. (Schein (note 5), pp.15, 18; Anthony (note 4), p.300; Schein (note 8), pp.16, 202; Anthony (note 4), p.303.)
9. Erikson (note 7).
10. Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther, A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (NY: Norton, 1958).
11. Erikson (note 7), p.159. According to Erikson: 'When the human being, because of accidental or developmental shifts, loses an essential wholeness, he restructures himself and the world by taking recourse to what we may call *totalism*' (emphasis his, p.162). He further specified this pre-disposition to conversion to totalitarianism as being generally unconscious prior to the conversion, and that most people with such tendencies are unaware of such: 'proclivities and potentialities for total realignments, often barely hidden behind one-sided predilections and convictions, and how much energy is employed in inner

defenses against a threatening total reorientation in which black may turn into white and vice versa' (p.161).

12. Theodor Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (NY: Norton, 1950). It is worth noting that *Authoritarian Personality* represents, in part, the culmination of a tradition of theorizing about the appeal of fascism that began in Europe in the 1930s and involved scholars such as Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm and Hannah Arendt. This genre of 'Totalitarian Studies', to which Erikson also contributed, was much influenced by psychoanalytic thought. As concern shifted from fascism to communism in the Cold War context, the focus of inquiry shifted from the types of personalities who are attracted to fascism per se to the understanding of a more generic form of personality organization common to people who are attracted to various forms of totalitarianism including communism as well as fascism, and to other forms of totalitarianism as well. See Anthony and Robbins (note 4). For a vital early contribution of Erikson to the genre of totalitarian studies, which pre-figures some of the ideas discussed here, and which substantially influenced the research project that resulted in *Authoritarian Personality*, see 'Hitler's Imagery and German Youth', *Psychiatry* 5 (1942), pp.475–93.
13. The eight stages are: (1) Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust (oral stage); (2) Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt (anal stage); (3) Initiative vs. Guilt (Oedipal stage); (4) Industry vs. Inferiority (the latency period); (5) Identity vs. Role Diffusion; (6) Intimacy vs. Isolation; (7) Generativity vs. Stagnation; and (8) Ego Integrity vs. Despair. See Erik Erikson, *Identity Youth and Crisis* (NY: Norton, 1968), p.94.
14. In later life the influence of infantile Basic Mistrust may lead to 'violent loves and hates and sudden conversions and aversions' and a childish fetishistic orientation involving 'the exclusive focusing of a set of (friendly or unfriendly) effects on one person or idea; the primitivation of all effects thus focused; and a utopian (or cataclysmic) expectation of a total gain or a total loss', Erikson (note 7), p.160.
15. Ibid., p.170.
16. Ibid., p.169.
17. Ibid.
18. By this means Lifton apparently intended the reader to know that Erikson had originally defined the totalism term and concept in the cited article, in more or less the sense that he (Lifton) was using them in his book. However, it is likely that the average reader of Lifton's book, who has not read Erikson's little known article, would not realize by this citation that both the term and concept of totalism were developed originally by Erikson. Moreover, in our opinion Erikson develops the meaning of the totalism concept in considerably more theoretical complexity than appears in Lifton's book. Consequently, we have been more influenced by Erikson's handling of the totalism idea than by Lifton's treatment in the approach to the social psychology of alternative religions that we develop in this article.
19. As with the term and concept of 'totalism', Erikson originated the concepts of and terms for 'negative identity', 'identity confusion', 'crisis of identity' and 'negative conscience' which Lifton uses throughout his discussion of individual totalistic tendencies in his subjects. Erikson was also responsible for the psychoanalytic development of the concept of 'ego identity' which is central to both his and Lifton's analysis of totalism. Erikson and Lifton also both made the concept of 'splitting' or 'split identity' central to their analysis of totalism. Nine entries for the specifically Eriksonian concept of 'negative identity' are given in the index to Lifton's book, eight entries to the related Eriksonian concepts of identity crisis and identity diffusion, six references to the concept of splitting, a key reference to the concept of negative conscience, and 85 additional entries to the concept of identity, that is generally used in the psychoanalytic sense which originated with Erikson.
20. Lifton (note 5), p.150.
21. The predisposing characteristics that rendered Lifton's two subjects susceptible to totalistic influence are summarized on pp.131–2. According to Lifton: 'In all cases of apparent conversion (the two I studied in detail, the two I met briefly, and two others I heard of) similar [pre-existing] emotional factors seemed to be at play: a strong and readily accessible negative identity fed by an unusually great susceptibility to guilt, a tendency toward identity confusion (especially that of the cultural outsider), profound involvement

in a situation productive of historical and racial guilt, and finally, a sizable element of [individual] totalism'. At another point Lifton described Miss Darrow and Father Simon, the two interview subjects that he felt had been influenced by totalistic ideology, thus: 'This authoritarian priest shared with the liberal missionary's daughter [predisposing] psychological traits characteristic of the apparent convert: strong susceptibility to guilt, confusion of identity, and most important of all, a long-standing pattern of totalism' (pp.218–19).

22. Prior to this point in his book, Lifton has used the unqualified term 'totalism' as Erikson does, without the adjective 'ideological', to refer only to individual propensities to convert to totalitarianism. However, in Ch.22 he begins to refer to 'ideological totalism', a phrase which seems to be intended to refer to the totalitarian quality of groups and ideologies, a usage that seems somewhat confusing in light the following: (1) he has formerly consistently used the term totalism many times without the qualifying adjective to refer to an individual rather than a group characteristic; (2) Erikson, who coined the totalism term, clearly meant by it an individual rather than a group characteristic; (3) the term totalitarianism, which Erikson used when speaking of groups or ideologies, reserving the totalism term for individuals, was already in general use. Nevertheless, within Ch.22, Lifton begins to use the phrase 'individual totalism' (cf. pp.419, 436) to refer to the individual characteristic, and uses the term 'ideological totalism' to refer to totalitarian groups and ideologies.
23. Lifton (note 5), pp.419–37.
24. Ibid., p.419.
25. Ibid., p.420. Proponents of the cultic brainwashing model interpret cults as causing conversions on the basis of overwhelmingly effective techniques of influence that negate individual predispositions and result in a loss of free will. In litigation, such external causation is legally necessary to support the causes of action, e.g. false imprisonment, fraud, intentional causation of emotional distress, that are putatively based upon brainwashing testimony. The Erikson–Lifton non-causal model of totalistic conversion in terms of an interaction between pre-existing totalistic character traits and totalistic ideologies would probably not legally support such causes of action, because the convert would be viewed as legally responsible for choosing his own totalistic style of life, even if that lifestyle seems undesirable to outside observers.
26. Ibid., p.436. The phrase 'intolerance for dislocation and confusion' seems to be Lifton's paraphrase of the phrase 'intolerance of ambiguity', a concept that was central to the explanation of the predisposition to respond favorably to totalitarianism in the book, *Authoritarian Personality* (note 12). Other phrases in this account of the origins of totalism, e.g. 'early lack of trust', 'total domination by a parent or parent-representative', 'intolerable burdens of guilt and severe crises of identity' seem clearly to originate in Erikson's article on totalism.
27. Lifton employs the term 'brainwashing' several times in his book (often putting the word in quotes), but he demystifies the term, rejecting 'an image of 'brainwashing' as an all-powerful, irresistible, unfathomable and magical method of achieving total control over the human mind'. Such misleading and sensational usage 'makes the word a rallying point for fear, resentment, urges toward submission, justification for failure, irresponsible accusation, and for a wide gamut of emotional extremism', ibid., p.4. We would argue that Lifton is not really writing in the 'brainwashing' tradition of Hunter, Sargent, Meerloo, Farber *et al.*, etc. He has been interpreted in this connection in part because of the Cold War context of his writing on Maoism, and partly because of the harsh conditions which the Maoists imposed on his subjects and which he describes.

    In *Coercive Persuasion*, Schein (note 5) also rejects the brainwashing term because of its misleading implication of purely extrinsic influence and like Lifton also emphasizes the salient role of psychological predispositions to totalitarianism. Cf. his chapters, 'The Special Role of Guilt in Coercive Persuasion' and 'A Socio-psychological Analysis of Coercive Persuasion'. He discusses the views of Erikson, Adorno *et al.*, and others in the chapter entitled, 'A Passion for Unanimity'. See Schein (note 5).
28. See Dick Anthony, 'The Fact Pattern Behind the Deprogramming Controversy', *NY Univ.*

Review of Law and Social Change 9/1 (1979–80), pp.73–90, particularly p.80, nn. 61, 62. Numerous references are given in the notes cited above and will not be reproduced here. For an additional overview, see Thomas Robbins, *Cults, Converts and Charisma* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1988), pp.28–36.

29. See, e.g., Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, 'The Meher Baba Movement: Its Effect on Post-Adolescent Alienation' in Irving Zaretsky and Marc Leone (eds), *Contemporary American Religious Movements* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1974), pp.478–501.
30. This dynamic is illustrated in an insightful study of the racist Christian Identity movement. Thomas Young, 'Cult Violence and the Identity Movement', *Cultic Studies Jnl* 7/2 (1990), pp.150–57. 'Identity members engage in self-idealization' (p.150) and project weakness and defects on to outsiders, i.e., 'To perceive oneself as pure, impure feelings and impulses must be projected into a world where they become embodied in others' (p.156). The racist leader may legitimate recruits' pent-up hostility and direct it toward designated scapegoats. 'As a transitional object, the cult leader helps members express hostile impulses ... When the cult leader initiates an antisocial act ... cult members become free to act in a guiltless and violent way' (p.157). See also F. Wright and P. Wright, 'The Charismatic Leader and the Violent Surrogate Family', *Annals of the NY Acad. of Science* 347 (1980), pp.66–76.
31. This is in contrast to the extrinsic model in which a totally ego-alien 'false self' is simply 'imposed' on the hapless convert and little or no continuity between the 'cult imposed' false ego and the pre-conversion personality is acknowledged.
32. Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, 'Sects and Violence: Factors Enhancing the Volatility of Religious Movements', in Wright, *Armageddon in Waco* (note 2), pp.242–3.
33. Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, 'The Effect of Detente on the Growth of New Religions: Reverend Moon and the Unification Church' in Jacob Needleman and George Baker (eds), *Understanding New Religions* (NY: Seabury, 1978), pp.80–100. The authors stressed the vehement anti-communist worldview (closely integrated with a highly dualistic theology elaborated around polarities of God-centered vs. anti-God, and Abel forces vs. Cain forces) which characterized the movement in its American heyday. (There have since been some doctrinal shifts.) David Chidester has compared the extreme dualistic worldviews of the Unification Church and Jim Jones' Peoples Temple, which are both distinctly exemplary dualist but manifest contrasting orientations to American civic symbolism, Marxism and capitalism. See David Chidester, 'Stealing the Sacred Symbols: Biblical Interpretation in the Peoples Temple and the Unification Church', *Religion*, 18 (1988), pp.137–52. 'Both movements claimed to play a central role in the eschatological battle between good and evil', p.137.
34. Constance Jones, 'Exemplary Dualism and Authoritarianism in Jonestown' in Rebecca Moore and Fielding McGehee (eds), *New Religions, Mass Suicide and the Peoples Temple* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1989), pp.209–30. 'The United States, its institutions, even its standards of beauty were portrayed as the "beast" – totally irredeemable – to be overcome by the "redeeming remnant" ' (p.212). This article extrapolates an analysis in an unpub. paper by Dick Anthony. Dr Jones' acknowledgement of Anthony's influence in shaping her analysis was inadvertently deleted from the ultimate publication (personal communication to Dr Robbins).
35. Marc Galanter, *Cults: Faith, Healing and Coercion* (NY: OUP, 1989), pp.34–5, 38–60.
36. Ibid., p.35.
37. Ibid., p.89. According to an earlier study, a Unification Church sample manifested a higher level of doctrinal orthodoxy than was shown by Catholic and Presbyterian samples. Unificationists also evinced a higher degree of 'communalization' or expressed appreciation for the internal life and solidarity of the Church, as well as a greater tendency for Church members to have two or more prior church affiliations (denomination switching). See Brock Kilbourne and James Richardson, 'The Communalization of Religious Experience in New and Established Religions', *Jnl of Community Psychology*, 14 (Apr. 1986), pp.206–12.
38. Eileen Barker, *The Making of a Moonie: Choice or Brainwashing?* (London: Blackwell, 1984); Saul V. Levine, 'Radical Departures', *Psychology Today* 18/8 (Aug. 1984), pp.20–9. See also Saul Levine, *Radical Departures: Desperate Detours to Growing Up* (London:

Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984).

39. Levine, ibid., pp.27–8.
40. John Saliba, 'The New Religions and Mental Health' in David Bromley and Jeffrey Hadden (eds), *The Handbook on Cults and Sects in America* (Greenwich, CT: IAI Press, 1993), pp.99–113, p.107. A study by two psychiatrists found 'overcontrolled hostility' but an absence of serious pathology in Los Angeles Unificationists. See Thomas Underleider and D.K. Wellish, 'Coercive Persuasion (Brainwashing), Religious Cults and Deprogramming', *American Jnl of Psychiatry* 136/3 (1979), pp.279–82.
41. Robert H. Simmonds, 'Conversion or Addiction: Consequences of Joining a Jesus Movement Group' in James T. Richardson (ed.), *Conversion Careers* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978), pp.113–28. Repr. from *American Behavioral Scientist* 20/6 (1977).
42. The subjects seemed somewhat more troubled and less well educated than the 'Moonies' studied by Barker or by Galanter. For a full description of 'Christ Commune' (actually Shiloh) and its members, see James T. Richardson, Mary Harder and Robert Simmonds, *Organized Miracles* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1977).
43. Simmonds (note 41), p.127.
44. See Carl C. Latkin, Richard Littman and Norman Sundberg, 'Who Lives in Utopia: A Brief Report on the Rajneeshpuram Research Project', *Sociological Analysis*, 48/1 (1987), pp.73–81; Norman Sundberg, Carl Latkin, Richard Littman and Richard Hagan, 'Personality in a Religious Commune', *Jnl of Personality Assessment*, 55 (1992), pp.7–17; James T. Richardson, 'Clinical and Personality Assessment of Participants in New Religions', *Int. Jnl for the Psychology of Religion* 5/3 (1995), pp.145–70.
45. Latkin *et al.* (note 44), ibid. See also Roy Wallis and Steve Bruce, *Sociological Theory, Religion and Collective Action* (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 1986), pp.191–225.
46. Sundberg *et al.* (note 44), p.16.
47. For the history and demise of the planned 'city' of Rajneeshpuram in Oregon, see Lewis Carter, *Charisma and Control in Rajneeshpuram* (NY: CUP, 1990); Frances Fitzgerald, *Cities on a Hill: A Journey through Contemporary American Cultures* (NY: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1991), pp.247–82.
48. Carter (note 47), ibid.; Fitzgerald (note 47), ibid.; Hugh Milne, *Bhagawan: God that Failed* (NY: Caliban/St Martins, 1986).
49. John Hubner and Lindsay Gruson, *Monkey on a Stick: Murder, Madness and the Hare Krishnas* (NY: Onyx/Penguin, 1990). ISKCON – which is the official name of the movement popularly known as Hare Krishna – is organized into a number of relatively self-sufficient and independent jurisdictions. Most of the evidence pertains to one Krishna group, although according to this work at least one other Krishna community experimented with paramilitary organization. According to the authors, exploitative orientations toward outsiders (and commercial scams) were widespread among Krishnas in the 1980s and late 1970s. However, this work is criticized by ISKCON leaders and sympathizers as sensationalistic and as exaggerating tendencies which may be true of some communities but not of the movement as a whole. For a more sociological overview of ISKCON see E. Burke Rocheford, *The Hare Krishna in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1985). For analyses of antinomianism, volatility, aggression, exploitation and scandal in a variety of new religious movements see Dick Anthony, Bruce Ecker and Ken Wilber (eds), *Spiritual Choices* (NY: Paragon, 1988), esp. pp.1–105.
50. Richardson (note 44).
51. See A. Weiss and Mendoza, 'Effects of Acculturation into Hare Krishna on Mental Health and Personality, *Jnl for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (1990), pp.173–84.
52. See Michael Ross, 'Clinical Profiles of Hare Krishna Devotees', *Amer. Jnl of Psychiatry* 140 (1983), pp.416–20; and idem, 'Mental Health in Hare Krishna Devotees: A Longitudinal Study', ibid. 142 (1985), pp.65–7.
53. See esp. T. Poling and J. Kenny, *The Hare Krishna Character Type* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1986) and Ross (note 52), ibid.
54. Poling and Kenny (note 53), ibid., p.108.
55. Ibid., p.135.
56. Richardson (note 44), p.15–16.

57. Ibid.
58. Questionnaires distributed to members of various communes in the late 1970s by Angela Aidala indicated that members of religious communes scored higher on intolerance of ambiguity compared to members of secular communes. In Aidala's view, the rise of spiritual communal movements reflected the breakdown of norms controlling sexual behavior and gender roles such that young persons experienced anomie when confronted with the new moral ambiguity in the realm of intimacy and the absence of institutionalized restraints. Religious movements respond to this normative deprivation by affirming distinctive (and sometimes rigid) sex-gender ideologies, which, however, vary widely from group to group (e.g., ideologies could be orgiastic, puritanical, patriarchal, egalitarian). This analysis resonates with and may contextualize Poling and Kenny's depiction of many Krishna devotees as anxious over the possibility of a surrender to an all-consuming sensualism. Angela Aidala, 'Social Change, Gender Roles and New Religious Movements', *Sociological Analysis* 46/3 (1985), pp.287–314. See also Poling and Kenny (note 53).
59. Bob Altemeyer, *Enemies of Freedom* (NY: Jossey-Bass, 1988). Also pertinent is Milton Rokeach's dogmatism concept as measured by his 'D' scale. See Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind* (NY: Basic Books, 1960).
60. Rokeach developed his 'D' scale and dogmatism concept in an attempt – not entirely successful – to distill the underlying personality variable entailing the centralized structure of a belief system and separate this variable from the content of social attitudes. Conflation of authoritarian personality structure with the overt content of conservative social attitudes had been considered a weakness of the original authoritarian 'F' scale. See Lee Kirkpatrick, Ralph Hood and Gary Hartz, 'Fundamentalist Religion Conceptualized in Terms of Rokeach's Theory of the Open and Closed Mind: New perspectives on Some Old Ideas', *Research in the Social Scientific Study of Religion*, 3 (1991), pp.157–80.
61. See Altemeyer (note 59), pp.230–8; Bob Altemeyer, *Right-Wing Authoritarianism* (Manitoba: Manitoba UP, 1981); Kirkpatrick *et al.* (note 60), ibid.
62. Nancy Ammerman identifies the normative separation of the godly from the ungodly as one of the three defining properties of fundamentalism, along with (apocalyptic) 'Dispensational Premillenialism' and biblical literalism or 'inerrancy'. Nancy Ammerman, *Bible Believers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1987), pp.3–6.
63. See Bruce Hunsberger and Bob Altemeyer, 'Religious Fundamentalism, Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Hostility toward Homosexuals in Non-Christian Orthodoxy'; presented to the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Raleigh, NC, Nov. 1993. This is an important study for several reasons. It presents a general measure of fundamentalism which is not specifically tied to Christian doctrines or practices, but also measures fundamentalism in other religious traditions. This study demonstrates that prejudice towards homosexuals, i.e. authoritarian aggression or ethnocentrism, is correlated with general measures of authoritarianism and fundamentalism in three religious traditions, i.e., Christianity, Islam and Judaism. These results have important implications for Lifton's broadening of the concept of fundamentalism beyond Christian fundamentalism, and for his redefinition of totalism as essentially equivalent to fundamentalism. See below.
64. The various forms of the 'F' and 'D' scales do not generally focus on apocalypticism, but groups (e.g., fundamentalist) which tend to have members who score high on authoritarianism tend to be apocalyptic.
65. Both consequentialism (or 'extrinsic' religious orientations) and acceptance of the 'just world' belief are correlated with both dogmatism and authoritarianism, as well as mutually intercorrelated and correlated with some forms of prejudice and intolerance. See Rita M. Pulliam, 'Cognitive Styles or Hypocrisy? An Explanation of the Religiousness-Intolerance Relationship' in William G. Garrett (ed.), *The Social Consequences of Religious Belief* (NY: Paragon, 1989), pp.80–90.
66. Authoritarianism in religious groups appears to be both a group and an individual variable, e.g., higher scores on measures of individual authoritarianism are associated with greater orthodoxy of belief even among members of 'liberal' groups with fewer authoritarians. See Altemeyer (note 59), pp.230–8. This finding implicitly reinforces the premise, discussed

above, of an *interaction* between individual totalistic personalities and the ideological and psychological milieu of a totalistic group. Neither totalistic group tendencies nor individual proclivities simplistically 'cause' each other.

67. Robert Lifton, *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation* (NY: Basic Books, 1993); Charles Strozier, *Apocalypse: On the Psychology of Fundamentalism in America* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1994).
68. Strozier, ibid. 'Fundamentalist dogma has a totalistic core', but not all fundamentalist groups have fully developed their latent totalism. 'Significant areas of continuity exist between the mainstream fundamentalist movement and its more extreme manifestations [e.g., Branch Davidians in Waco]', p.163. 'A pull toward totalism always exists in fundamentalism'. p.164. Lifton (note 67). 'Fundamentalism can create the most extreme expressions of totalism, of the self's immersion in all-or-none ideological systems and behavior patterns' (p.161).
69. Strozier, *Apocalypse* (note 67), pp.164–5. See also Lifton's description of the childhood causes of individual totalism (*Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (note 5), p.436) which we quote in the section entitled 'Foundational Thinkers and the Extrinsic Model' above.
70. Strozier, ibid., pp.153–66; Lifton (note 67), pp.166–77.
71. For instance the fundamentalism concept is applied by Strozier to non-fundamentalist groups such as Pentecostals. Strozier, ibid., pp.3–8.
72. In his 1989 preface to a new edition of *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina UP, 1989), Lifton explicitly equates totalism and religious and political fundamentalism, and argues that cults are a subcategory of fundamentalism. He states that 'the quest for absolute or "totalistic" belief systems ... has produced nothing short of a worldwide epidemic of political and religious fundamentalism – of movements characterized by literalized embrace of sacred texts as containing absolute truth for all persons, and a mandate for militant, often violent, measures taken against designated enemies of that truth or mere unbelievers. The epidemic includes fundamentalist versions of existing religious and political movements as well as newly emerging groups that may combine disparate ideological elements. These latter groups are often referred to as cults .'.. (p. vii). Thus for Lifton, fundamentalism and totalism appear to be two separate terms for the same phenomenon, and cults are defined as newly emerging fundamentalist, i.e. totalist, groups that combine disparate ideological elements.
73. Lifton (note 67), pp.166–77, esp. p.161.
74. Ibid., see esp. pp.170, 189 and pp.10–11. '... proteanism presses toward human commonality as opposed to the fixed and absolute moral and psychological divisions favored by fundamentalism', p.11.
75. Lifton (note 67), ibid. See also 'Preface to the University of North Carolina Edition' of *Chinese Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (note 72), pp.vii–ix, and note 72 above.
76. Lifton (note 67), p.163.
77. The strongly antinomian Bhagawan movement appears to have changed its doctrinal and psychological motifs several times. See Carter (note 47). Indeed, Shree Bhagawan Rajneesh comes out of a tradition of mystical 'crazy wisdom' teaching which has definite antinomian elements and possible protean or chaos-embracing elements and, moreover, frequently manifests elements of volatility and of exploitation and traumatizing of devotees. On crazy wisdom gurus including Rajneesh and other controversial leaders such as Da Love-Ananda (Da Free John), see Georg Feuerstein, *Holy Madness* (NY: Paragon, 1991).
78. 'The Fundamentalist Self' is perceived by the devotee as a precarious 'safe haven' which 'includes . . . their polarization of all experience into the realm of God and the realm of Satan'. Thus, 'the self becomes increasingly totalized, ensconced in an all-embracing ideological structure'. Yet fundamentalists 'remain haunted by the specter of evil. Satan is as real and necessary a construct as is Jesus or God.' Lifton (note 67), p.168. 'Immersed in painful dualities', fundamentalist cultists become involved in 'intense communal ties with fellow believers along with profound alienation from everyone else' (p.188).

79. Ibid., p.202.
80. Lifton (note 67), discusses how fundamentalism and other forms of totalism, 'embraced to overcome [self] fragmentation, can intensify that fragmentation in turn .'.., Ibid., p.192.
81. Ibid., p.202.
82. Strozier, *Apocalypse* (note 67), pp.91, 201–6.
83. Ibid., pp.86–92; Lifton (note 67), p.208.
84. Strozier, ibid., p.90.
85. Cf. Adorno, *et al.* (note 12); Altemeyer (note 61).
86. Cf. Erickson (note 12).
87. Janet Jacobs, *Divine Disenchantment: Deconverting From New Religions* (Bloomington, IN: Univ. of Indiana, 1989).
88. Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians and the New Left* (NY: OUP, 1982).
89. Narcissists tend to be manipulative and exploitative in their relations with others and to seek short term rewards in terms of status and praise in their interactions. In consequence, both their relational and vocational involvements are often unstable and ephemeral. They find it difficult to sustain long term commitments.
90. The authors were influenced in their use of this concept by earlier works of Robert Lifton and Kenneth Keniston. See Robert Lifton, 'Protean Man', *Partisan Review*, 1968 and Kenneth Keniston, *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth* (NY: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968).
91. See Otto Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism* (NY: Aronson, 1975).
92. One influential work on contemporary psychoanalysis states, 'Today's patients do not simply present the classic neurosis of an Oedipal nature, rather, they present the kinds of problems which have come to be labelled schizoid, borderline and narcissistic. For whatever reasons, problems of self and of object relations – experienced as feelings of meaninglessness, feelings of emptiness, pervasive depression, lack of sustaining interests, goals, ideals, values and feelings of unrelatedness – are the overwhelmingly predominant symptoms of today's modal patient'. Morris N. Eagle, *Recent Developments in Psychoanalysis: A Critical Evaluation* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1984), p.73. Narcissistic, borderline and schizoid personality disorders – in fact all personality disorders – are defined by the central interrelated characteristics of 'splitting', 'projective identification' and self-fragmentation. On splitting as a defining criterion of personality disorders, see Phillip Manfield, *Split Self/Split Object: Understanding and Treating Borderline, Narcissistic and Schizoid Disorders* (London and Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1992). On the interconnection of the concepts of splitting and projective identification in modern psychoanalysis see Thomas H. Ogden, *The Matrix of the Mind: Object Relations and the Psychoanalytic Dialogue* (Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1990).
93. According to Eagle, 'a greater frequency of self-disorders may occur because of certain social factors which are not mediated by mothering and child-rearing experiences. For example, the lack of stable ideologies and values or a particular set of values or an atmosphere of disillusionment and cynicism in the surrounding society may be potent factors contributing to experiences of emptiness and meaninglessness and may be most operative, not in our young childhood, but in the period from preadolescence to young adulthood'. Eagle (note 92), p.73.
94. Robert Bellah, *The Broken Covenant* (NY: Seabury, 1981).
95. It has become something of a truism that in the absence of a compelling social ethic American Society has itself become 'narcissistic' in the sense of substituting for the declining Protestant Ethic a superficial success ethic which evaluates people only in terms of superficial external tangible criteria of success. See Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (NY: Norton, 1978). See also Robert Bellah, *et al.*, *Habits of the Heart* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1985).
96. As we have indicated, other personality disorders, such as borderline and schizoid disorders, which are also characterized by splitting and projective identification, have presumably become more common as have narcissistic disorders, as a result of the lack of

an integrated ethic. We focus our analysis primarily upon the role of contemporary cults in ministering to authoritarian personalities and narcissists because of limitations of space and because there is a prior literature on the relation of totalistic social movements to these disorders. Nevertheless, totalistic movements would be expected to appeal to any person, including those with these other personality disorders, who tend to characteristically utilize the defenses of splitting and projective identification and so to have fragmented selves.

97. While involved in participant observation of a 'Moonie' indoctrination workshop in Westchester County in 1974, Robbins noted how Unificationist leaders and subleaders tended continually to stress the absolute contrast between the quality, authenticity, mutuality and purity said to characterize social interaction in the workshop and the materialism, exploitation, selfishness and violence pervading nearby New York City from which many of the participants had come. Although the movements had definite if abstruse doctrines, on an intuitive level, the idealized quality and purity of communal life was defined *negatively*, i.e., not as in degraded New York! Thomas Robbins, Dick Anthony, Thomas Curtis and Madalyn Doucas, 'The Last Civil Religion: The Unification Church of Reverend Sun Myung Moon', *Sociological Analysis* 37/2 (1976), pp.112–25.
98. Jacobs (note 87).
99. The present authors have recently summarized some of the sociological literature on the 'precariousness' and intrinsic instability and volatility of charismatic leadership which, by definition, lacks both institutionalized *supports* and institutionalized r*estraints*. Robbins and Anthony (note 32). See also Wallis and Bruce (note 45), pp.115–29.
100. According to Rokeach (note 59), a 'dogmatic' belief system possesses both a 'belief system' and a 'disbelief system'. The latter entails beliefs about outsiders and scapegoats. For a recent discussion, see Lee Kirkpatrick *et al.* (note 60).
101. Otto Kernberg, 'Projection and Projective Identification: Developmental and Clinical Aspects' in J. Sandler (ed.), *Projection, Identification and Projective Identification* (Madison, CT: Int. UP, 1987), pp.93–115.
102. The dependency of persons with split selves and personality disorders on external reinforcement and feedback from projective objects contributes to an explanation of both the appeal and the instability or volatility of some movements with pronounced dualistic meaning systems which encourage contrast identities on the part of converts. Persons who project idealized qualities onto another person with whom they may identify easily become defensive, perceive disapprobation on the part of the idealized object, and come to radically devalue the former exemplary symbol. This reversal may transpire within and without dualistic religious systems, but the latter appear to promise an end to such breakdowns by establishing an *absolute scale of values* and thus an escape from the sequence of alternative idealizations and devaluations. But this vision may be illusory and the possibility of reversals remains. In any case, various orientations, correlated with totalistic personalities, such as consequentialist (extrinsic) religion, the 'just world' premise, dependency needs and ambivalence over power are all tied into, and operate to intensify, the volatility of projective identification patterns.
103. Carl Latkin, 'Rajneeshpuram Oregon: An Exploration of gender and work roles, self-concept and psychological well-being in an Experimental Community', doctoral diss., Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR, 1987.
104. Feuerstein (note 77).
105. This is an old pattern in Western history. See particularly, Ronald Knox, *Enthusiasm* (London: Oxford, 1950). Knox's neglected classic defines 'enthusiasts' as converts who believe that their possession of grace thoroughly sets them apart from ordinary persons. The history of enthusiasm has manifested 'strange oscillations of rigorism and antinomianism'. Enthusiasts are potentially (if often not actually) volatile and violent because they claim a higher allegiance relative to civic obligations. Their outlook is implicitly, if not explicitly, theocratic. The recurrent motif of enthusiastic sects that 'dominion is founded on grace' can, in its most sinister forms, dovetail with Lifton's 'dispensability of existence', i.e., 'the worldling has no rights'. See also Anthony and Robbins (note 32).
106. Fitzgerald (note 47). Several other gurus with arguably 'emancipatory' or antinomian

orientations have been involved in scandals or litigation involving alleged sexual abuse or financial exploitation of devotees, intragroup violence, or alcoholism and drug abuse. See Anthony *et al.*, *Spiritual Choices* (note 49), and Feuerstein (note 77).

107. Strozier, *Apocalypse* (note 67), Strozier identifies the Waco Branch Davidians as mid-tribulationists (p.164). Michael Barkun identifies post-tribulationists as particularly violent by virtue of 'survivalist' orientations. Both 'mid-tribulationists' and 'post-tribulationists' believe that the spiritually Elect or Chosen will have to survive at least part of the Great Tribulation and the reign of Antichrist during which they will be hunted down although they may participate in the ultimate victory of Jesus at the battle of Armageddon. In contrast, 'pre-tribulationists' such as Hal Lindsey and Jimmy Swaggart believe that the Chosen will be 'raptured' to Heaven prior to the Tribulation and triumph of Antichrist. Pre-, mid- and post-tribulationists are sub-varieties of the 'pre-millennial' perspective which expects Jesus to create the Millennium and defeat Antichrist only after the latter has triumphed and instituted the Tribulation; an apocalyptic scenario which is affirmed by mainstream fundamentalism and which foresees a pre-Armageddon world dominated by evil forces. Michael Barkun, 'Reflections After Waco: Millennialists and the State' in James Lewis (ed.), *From the Ashes: Making Sense of Waco* (London: Rowman & Littleefield, 1984), pp.41–50.
108. Joseph Smith, the founding prophet of Mormonism, has been described as a leader who exacerbated boundary tensions with outsiders in order to enhance internal group solidarity. Having formed his own paramilitary group, he was ultimately lynched, after which Brigham Young took the bulk of the devotees to the relatively unsettled Utah territory. Even there tension with the government immediately preceding the Civil War led to the 'Mountain Meadow Massacre' of a party of non-Mormon travelers by Mormons and Indians. R. Lawrence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (NY: Oxford, 1985).
109. An important article by Doyle P. Johnson shows how the removal of the Peoples Temple to an agricultural commune in tropical Guyana created threats to Jones' charismatic authority (e.g., arising from crop failures and later from the Stoen civil suit to regain their child). Defensive responses by Jones created further threats and led to a spiraling process of threat and response and greater threat, leading to increased alienation and apprehension of giant anti-Temple conspiracies. Doyle Johnson, 'Dilemmas of Charismatic Leadership: The Case of the Peoples Temple', *Sociological Analysis* 40/4 (1985), pp.315–23. From our perspective, the underlying cause of schism, declining morale and challenges to Jones' leadership was the fact that split-off anger and aggression could no longer be managed by low-level aggressive routines *vis-^-vis* the outside world, e.g., proselytization.
110. John Hall, 'The Apocalypse at Jonestown' in Robbins and Anthony (note 14), pp.171–90. On the extreme negativistic dualism of Jones' ideology see Constance Jones (note 34), and David Chidester, *Salvation and Suicide* (Bloomington, IN: Univ. of Indiana, 1988).
111. John Hall, *Gone from the Promised Land: The Peoples Temple in American Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1987), p.287.
112. Ibid., p.300.
113. Galanter (note 35), p.124. As indicated above, we believe that the functional role of proselytization is to provide a manageable device for siphoning off the anger and hostility that is projected on to contrast groups. Emigration to Guyana deprived the Peoples Temple of such low-level confrontational routines, and exacerbated the difficulty of managing intra-group resentments. This depth-psychological analysis complements rather than contradicts Galanter's system theory approach.
114. Two religious scholars who negotiated with David Koresh during the Branch Davidian standoff with federal agents believe that Koresh would eventually have emerged from the settlement and surrendered to authorities. See Lewis (note 107), pp.13–30.
115. Four Christian critics of cults believe that Koresh was intimately familiar with numerous apocalyptic and/or violent biblical passages involving a 'consuming', 'purifying', 'devouring' or wrathful fire. They suggest that Koresh believed that a fiery conflagration was necessary to bring on the ultimate apocalypse. He initially opposed suicide but could accept deaths in a fiery conflagration associated with a physical assault initiated by

persecutors. The FBI 'played ... neatly into Koresh's plan' by making an assault on 18 Apr. Kenneth Samples, Erwin DeCastro, Richard Abanes, and Robert Lyle, *Prophets of the Apocalypse: David Koresh and Other American Messiahs* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker , 1994), pp.77–96. There is a tradition of sectarian immolative suicides, particularly under military siege conditions. See Thomas Robbins, 'Religious Mass Suicide Before Jonestown: The Russian Old Believers', *Sociological Analysis*, 41/1 (1986), pp.1–20.

116. 'Trying to Understand the Solar Temple Debacle', *Cult Observer* 11/9–10 (1994), pp.19–21.
117. *Time*, 17 Oct. 1994, p.60.
118. 'Trying to Understand the Solar Temple Debacle' (note 116).
119. 'Peoples Temple ... Branch Davidians ... Order of the Solar Temple ..?, *Cult Observer* 11/8 (1994), pp.5–6.
120. George E. Vaillant, 'Defense Mechanisms' in Armand Nicholi Jr. MD (ed.), *The Harvard Guide to Psychiatry* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 1988), p.203.
121. Erikson (note 12).

Christian Themes: Mainstream Traditions and Millenarian Violence

REINALDO L. ROMÁN

This essay examines the linkages between pre-modern Christian millenarian groups and the broader Christian mainstream. By focusing on several fundamental Christian themes, the author aims to show that millenarian thought and behavior, though generally unorthodox and even heretical, retain strong connections to the tenets of the more orthodox Christian traditions which they distort.

In a comparative study of three religious terrorist groups, David C. Rapoport suggests that while notable differences separate the beliefs and strategies of Thugs, Assassins and Zealots-Sicarii, each organization closely resembles other deviant groups within the same parent religion. In his presentation, Rapoport demonstrates that 'the three kinds of deviant groups reflect or distort themes distinctive to their particular major religion'.[1] This observation provided the initial impetus for many of the arguments proposed in this essay. Relying on standard secondary accounts, my aim here is to identify some prevalent themes among medieval European millenarian groups which may be considered typical and distinctive of the Christian tradition. Such themes include the Christian notions of suffering, redemption, poverty, sexuality, asceticism, the apostolate, and the imitation of Christ.

The discussion in the pages that follow maintains that medieval Christian millenarians, even in their rejection of mainstream Christianity, relied upon the mainstream traditions as a frame of reference. Medieval millennial visions were not shaped ex-nihilo by the movements' leaders. On the contrary, successful millenarian leaders articulated visions and notions already present in Christianity in some explicit or implicit form, using traditional symbols and doctrines to convey meanings and messages that, in Mannheim's words, were 'rooted genetically in collective purposes'.[2] In the process of transmitting these messages, chiliasts redefined, distorted, and even revitalized the original tradition and its symbols. Frequently as if to illustrate the incompleteness of the break with more orthodox traditions, millenarian messages were conceived and presented as renewals of the

original and legitimate Christian themes. Often, in those cases where recent or contemporary revelations were invoked, the newly revealed truths were presented as fulfilling traditional expectations.

The range of behavioral and interpretive possibilities open to religious terrorists and to millenarian groups was not unlimited; rather, it was restricted to the universe of possibilities available in the parent tradition. Mannheim's observation that 'the essential feature of Chiliasm is its tendency to dissociate itself from its own images and symbols' cannot be understood without qualification.[3] Though millenarians may always break with the orthodox understanding of the tradition, their disassociation from the tradition itself is never quite complete.

This argument contrasts markedly with the general tendency to regard millenarian visions as either travesties of the 'true' religion or as willful demagoguery and manipulation. The very idea that violent millenarians could be thought to espouse truly Christian notions would be considered objectionable, if not offensive, by many. Nonetheless, the arguments proposed here are consistent with those of influential scholars. Gordon Leff, for instance, has argued that heresy – a category that encompasses most medieval millenarian groups – involved a deviation from accepted beliefs rather than something alien to them: 'it [heresy] sprang from believing differently about the same things as opposed to holding a different belief'.[4] Moreover, Leff notes that the sources employed by medieval millenarians and heretics in general were the same sources then revered by the majority of mainstream Christians: the Bible, the Apostles' church, St Francis of Assisi, and even Joachim of Fiore. Consequently, Leff concludes that 'whatever its form, medieval heresy differed from orthodoxy and mere heterodoxy less in assumptions than emphasis and conclusions'.[5] Heretics and millenarians, extremists as many of them were, shared a common religious culture with their more orthodox brethren.

Several scholars have noted, nonetheless, that the multivaried religious heritage of Christian millenarians includes powerful elements which spring forth from geographically localized traditions rather than from the generalized forms of Western Christendom. The regional nature of many heterodox traditions, however, does not negate the survival of important connections between millenarian groups and the mainstream.

Michael Barkun, for instance, has argued that there are millenarian traditions or sub-cultures – rooted in the cultural mainstream – that may survive for extended periods in what he has called 'area(s) with a special chiliastic tradition'.[6] Barkun holds that millenarian movements may arise in such places after a series of disasters because the anxieties and questioning associated with catastrophes create an atmosphere propitious to the abandonment of mainstream views and the acceptance of prophecies of

imminent and total transformation. Though Barkun is concerned primarily with the conditions that permit the introduction of innovations, he has also noted that 'millenarian ideologies ring changes on existing cultural themes' and that 'to this extent, socialization provides access to the cultural materials out of which the chiliastic doctrine can be fashioned'.[7]

Similarly, at least one influential account of millennialism suggests that local traditions had a prominent role in medieval chiliastic outbursts. The maintenance of links between orthodoxy and heresy, which are my concern in this paper, are recognized here too. According to Sylvia Thrupp's synthesis of Cohn's materials, European medieval millenarian sects 'arose in circles already predisposed to the pantheistic trend of gnostic thought'; that is, circles that had "accumulated" millennial imagery'.[8] By differentiating among the various elements of a movement's imagery, Cohn distinguished between the earliest manifestations of Christian millenarianism and three additional types of chiliastic medieval movements: the Crusades, Joachimism and the millenarian-led revolts of the late medieval period.[9] But, although he insisted on these categorical and controversial distinctions, Cohn recognized too – albeit without much elaboration – that millenarian movements shared sufficient commonalities among themselves and with the Christian mainstream to be regarded as constituents of a single, multifaceted tradition: '[T]hroughout the Middle Ages the demand for religious reform persisted; and the ideal behind that demand, if it varied from time to time and from place to place, remained the same in essentials'.[10] Whether Waldesians, Anabaptists or Franciscan Spirituals, schismatics and those who sought to reform the Church from within all coincided in a typical Christian desire to emulate the apostolic life of poverty and simplicity.

Yet other scholars have commented on the relationship between the mainstream traditions and chiliasm in an effort to illuminate the reasoning behind the millenarians' seemingly arbitrary acts; that is to say, acts deemed to respond solely either to a leader's idiosyncratic and eccentric views or to the circumstances of a particular moment, as opposed to acts motivated by conscious (re)interpretations of the parent religious tradition. Rapoport, for instance, has shown that while religious terrorism – which includes some violent manifestations of millenarianism – is frequently outrageous by 'objective' or cross-cultural standards, the particular manifestations that such violence assumes are not accidental nor do they result from purely strategic concerns. Religious terror is frequently directed at undermining the precepts and offending the specific sensibilities of the religious mainstream.[11]

Millenarian outbursts, then, were neither solely nor even primarily the making of individuals unbound by tradition; local and wide-ranging forces

have channelled these violent energies. Indeed, at least some millenarian groups appear to have emerged rather spontaneously without the intervention of formal leadership. Popular notions and traditions seem to account for the impetus behind such movements. Marjorie Reeves' description of the Flagellant Movement of 1260 provides a telling illustration. This movement of disruptive, peripatetic and self-mortifying chiliasts, she writes, 'arose spontaneously, and stress is laid on the fact that neither Pope, hierarchy nor regular preachers stimulated it; it originated with the simple but included men of all classes..'..[12] Though she concedes that a variety of factors account for the emergence of these outbursts, Reeves argues that it was Joachimism, which 'was in the air', that accounts for the movement's popularity and timing; 1260 was Joachim's date for the Third Age. Tradition and popular culture, it would seem, generated their own energies.

These suggestive instances not withstanding, few secondary accounts of Christian millenarianism seem to focus on the general connections and continuities between the mainstream tradition and its chiliastic tributaries. Indeed, if anything, most scholars have been concerned with identifying and accounting for elements that are distinctly and peculiarly millenarian, those that constitute significant departures from tradition, in short, with exploring the radicalism rather than the conservatism of chiliastic thought. Evidently, these efforts have been accompanied by a great deal of debate and controversy. In the pages that follow, nonetheless, I attempt to read somewhat against the grain of most secondary accounts, searching for commonalities rather than peculiarities. It is not my intention to create the illusion of consensus where there may be little of it. Rather, I attempt to identify spaces of common understanding that may serve to locate Christian themes common to both millenarians and mainstream believers. For this reason, instances of agreement in otherwise competing accounts are cited throughout with little comment on well-known disagreements.

Because this contribution is based on accounts of violent, oppositional groups, Bernard McGinn's criticism of the blindness of these texts to 'those manifestations of apocalyptic traditions that were intended to support the institutions of medieval Christianity rather than to serve as a critique' remains valid.[13] It is relevant to note, however, that a millenarian group's activities frequently changed tone from pacifism to violence or vice-versa as external opposition or inner convictions developed.[14] In the broader perspective, then,

> [i]t is less useful to distinguish between conservatives and radical millenarians than to note that millenarian movements go through phases: an expansive phase during which believers move out to a ripening world and an astringent phase during which they pull in

> toward a holy refuge. These phases are equally political. In the stubbornest withdrawal to the most undesirable, inaccessible places..., millenarians become *prima facie* political threats, whether or not they speak of loyalty to the regents... Similarly, in their expansive phase, millenarians may be the missionary outriders of empire ... or the counterforce to empire ...[15]

Finally, it is pertinent to note that some of my arguments raise questions relevant to the study of contemporary millenarianism. If there is indeed a connection between the Christian tradition and Christian millenarianism: (1) To what extent do modern Christian millenarians echo or evoke traditional themes?; (2) In the opening to *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*, Marjorie Reeves writes that '[t]he problem for medieval thinkers was how to relate the moving moments of this time-process [history] in which they were caught to the unchanging eternal pattern of reality which was the ground of their faith'.[16] If so, is there a fundamental difference in the ideological and theological tenets of pre-modern millenarians who viewed the world as inherently stable v. millenarians who perceive the world as naturally in a constant state of flux?;[17] and, finally (3) Are Christian millenarian outbursts signs of a Christianity besieged and eroded, signs of the resilience of some traditional notions, or perhaps evidence that both forces are at work?

Yonina Talmon's sketch of the development of the Judeo-Christian conception of the Messiah identifies three distinctive traits of the Christian vision of salvation. She writes that '[t]he most important aspects of the development of the messianic doctrine in Christianity are the mythologization of the figure of the Messiah, the universalization of the concept of redemption, and the elaboration of the "suffering servant" motif'.[18] Each subsequent section in this essay attempts to account in some way for the millenarian transformation of the fundamental Christian notions that Talmon describes. The section 'Imitating Christ and the Dialectics of Suffering' examines Christian and millenarian understandings of the Messiah, redemption and suffering. 'Poverty, Asceticism and Sexuality' examines the connections between Christian attitudes toward the body and the paradoxical millenarian propensities both toward self-denial and self-indulgence. 'Apostolate' considers the connections between the Christian drive for proselytism, the desire to imitate Christ, and the universalist conception of salvation. The last section deals briefly with peculiarly Christian modes of violent behavior.

Imitating Christ and the Dialectics of Suffering

The orthodox and the millenarian have seen in the figure of Christ a model

for human conduct. Christian pacifists and violent extremists, the orthodox and those in the fringes, have all justified their actions, at least partly, in the emulation of Christ. Though violent millenarians did disregard those images of Christ that might have tempered their zeal, the Christ figure after which they modelled their behavior had foundations in the Christian tradition and in Scriptural sources which included the apocalyptic (not simply the Book of Revelation) and the Gospels, among other writings.[19] Along with the 'suffering Christ' emulated by most mainstream and millenarian Christians, the Gospels also spoke, though with less frequency, of a 'righteous Christ' who wields the sword. The distortion of violent millenarians resulted from a selective over-emphasis on those images of a righteous Christ and not from the introduction of novel images of the messianic figure.

Paradoxically, many violent millenarians who would invoke the image of a vengeful Christ began by withdrawing from society and emulating the suffering Messiah. Once convinced of the imminence of the millennium and of their own righteousness, these groups saw no contradiction in upholding the vindictive Christ as a model. As we will see, the transition from one model to another did not appear inconsistent to medieval millenarians because it was predicated upon a dialectical understanding of suffering that was in many ways grounded in the mainstream tradition of Christianity.

Rather than being incidental, Christ's suffering lay at the heart of the Christian faith. Christ's death on the cross was redemptive because it was a true sacrifice; and it was a true sacrifice because Jesus, the man, truly suffered and died in the flesh. The Christian thirst for martyrdom reflects a desire to imitate Christ's suffering in the most literal manner possible.

Mainstream Christians since the institutionalization of the Church in the Roman Empire, have heeded the Gospel call to imitate Christ with some restraint. Rather than demanding a literal sort of emulation, the Christ of the mainstream interpretation assisted the believer in understanding the meaning and value of the sufferings that necessarily accompany life in the world. Rather than seeking opportunities for immolation and suffering, the mainstream interpretation recognized that there would never be a shortage of afflictions. Because suffering was inevitable, it need not be sought; it only had to be endured.

The high regard for suffering was manifest in the reputations that hermits, mendicants and those who renounced comfort and mortified their bodies enjoyed among the masses. In the eyes of many mainstream Christians, intense suffering made these men holy and thus capable of bestowing great blessings upon others. So generalized was this faith in the effectiveness of suffering, that many medieval Christians made of their suffering an offering to saints who had interceded on their behalf. The established Church institutionalized fasts, pilgrimages, penances and other

privations of the body in the liturgical calendar. The result was that even among those who did not feel a call to imitate Christ in the most literal sense, suffering came to be regarded as a good in and of itself, a good from which even passive followers of Christ could benefit.

But many millenarians were not content to receive passively the blessings of Christ-like suffering; Christ's suffering remained a call for active emulation of the Passion. The inflation of the value of suffering appeared early in the history of Christian millenarianism. In the second century AD, Montanists following Tertullian's teachings practiced xerophagy, or the dry fast, in an effort to expel the spirit of evil and cause the entry of the Holy Spirit in their bodies. According to Tertullian (c160–c230), who was after the founder Montanus the most influential thinker for the sect, the Christian life was above all a battle with the devil. Suffering was the Christians' way of waging war; martyrdom 'granted immediate admission to paradise and conferred a victor's crown'.[20] In their enthusiasm, devout Montanists equated prudence and reticence to die with cowardice and moral compromise and they soon began to provoke the authorities into violent suppression. The Montanists' provocations threatened to blur the lines between suicide and martyrdom. As the Montanists awaited the descent of the New Jerusalem in Phrygia (Asia Minor), they 'thirsted for suffering and even for martyrdom; for was it not, above all, the martyrs resurrected in the flesh who were to be denizens of the Millennium?'[21] Sensing a challenge to their prestige in the public's regard for Montanist martyrdom, the official Church condemned the Montanists' deaths as 'mere suicides deserving no recognition'.[22]

The millenarian propinquity towards provocation and self-immolation as a means to martyrdom was nowhere as explicit as in the actions of the Circumcellions during the fourth century. The Circumcellions were Donatist peasants from Upper Numidia and Mauretania in North Africa who abandoned their responsibilities and holdings to live by terrorizing great estates, the rich and Catholic churches. 'The lives of the Circumcellions were in fact devoted to martyrdom.'[23] In battle, they inflicted and suffered heavy casualties because for a time they employed only clubs, which they called 'Israels'. Death in battle, however, was not a sufficiently effective mechanism for martyrdom. Like the Montanists before them, the Circumcellions felt compelled to force the hand of their executioners:

> All this [ascetic practice], however, was in preparation for martyrdom, by every means including suicide... Warned by a dream that his time was at hand, a Circumcellion would go forth and stop a traveller, or better still, more reminiscent of the heroic age of

> Christianity, a magistrate. The unfortunate would be given the choice of killing or being killed. Others would rush in on a pagan festival and offer themselves for human sacrifice. These became martyrs automatically, and similarly those who perished in attacks on villas or Catholic churches.[24]

The desire for suffering of many heretics and millenarians assisted in their propagation. During the times of the early North African church, conflict with the Catholic authorities resulted in the persecution – and consequently in the martyrdom – of many devoted Montanists. As opposition and violence grew, the movement spread with unprecedented vigor through several continents. Similarly among the Donatists, the Emperor Constantine's persecution resulted in an intensified devotion towards martyrdom and in enormous growth in the number of adherents. Ultimately, the Donatist faith was organized as a rival Church that gained control of the whole of Christian North Africa.[25] Like many subsequent movements, the Montanists and the Donatists fed on the destruction of their ranks because 'in the very afflictions descending upon them, the millenarians recognized the long-awaited "messianic woes"; and the conviction gave them a new militancy'.[26] Suffering itself was a confirmation of the imminence of their deliverance.

Without necessarily seeking immolation, the bands of wandering mendicants and the flagellants' sects that emerged in Europe a millennium after the Montanists continued to display a penchant for suffering. Flagellants mortified themselves in the hope of inducing God to spare them even greater sufferings in this life and in the afterlife. In this respect, their suffering was result-oriented and not entirely inconsistent with the early Christian tradition.

'Like the crusading pauperes before them, heretical flagellant sects saw their penance as a collective *imitatio Christi* possessing a unique eschatological value.'[27] Taking their cue from the traditional understanding of suffering, the flagellants came to believe that tribulations endured for the sake of the faith brought about redemption. The flagellants sought to achieve by means of their penance something akin to what Christ had achieved on the cross. They believed that their suffering would redeem them of their sins and that it would also save the world by precipitating the coming of the last days. The flagellants' practice was by no means an innovation:

> To scourge the flesh was a regular part of the lives of all ascetics, and its practice went back to the beginnings of Christianity. What was new was its organized character and its mass scale, which could soon lead its participants beyond its original claims. Beginning as a form of

> penance, it tended to end as the way to salvation.[28]

The Church's opposition to the flagellants' activities, then, was not a consequence of the act of scourging *per se*. Rather, the ecclesiastical authorities perceived the flagellants as a threat because in their claims regarding self-mortification, the heretics challenged the Church's authority and its sacraments.[29] Flagellation, understood as a second baptism capable of erasing sins, implicitly threatened to displace the sacraments. Moreover, outbreaks of flagellant activity posed a direct threat to public order. Church and state had complementary interests in suppressing religious innovation, particularly when such innovation was accompanied by highly disruptive processions through towns and villages.

Though they could cite no instance of self-mortification in Christ's life, the flagellants were inspired in their scourging by Christ's own Passion. The words of a fourteenth century flagellant friar insinuate the strong mimetic undercurrent of the practice: '[i]t [the friar's body] was such a wretched sight that he was reminded in many ways of the appearance of the beloved Christ, when he was fully beaten.'[30] The flagellants' belief that their actions were modelled after Christ also found expression in the flagellant ritual. A flagellant group's active penance generally lasted for thirty-three and one-half days, in remembrance of the number of years that tradition held Jesus to have lived on earth. During this period, the flagellants observed strict chastity, again apparently in response to the doctrine that Christ had been celibate during his lifetime.

The flagellants, the pauperes, and also the many subsequent millenarian groups that came under their influence, 'saw themselves as the only true imitators of the Apostles and indeed of Christ'.[31] Bands of the voluntary poor and wandering flagellants were later to find havens in the ranks of the Cathars, Waldesians, Joachites, and Free Spirits (Beghards). In the process, they contributed more than sheer numbers; they imprinted the new sects with their notions of what it meant to 'follow' and suffer like Christ.

The Book of Revelation, the Christian Sibyllines, and at times even the Gospels included portrayals of Christ as a warrior-king come to pass judgment on the world:

> Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes will be those of his own household... (Matthew 10:34–36)[32]

The mainstream interpreted such statements literally as a prophecy of things to come in a distant future and allegorically as a call to place the

commitment to God and Christ above all others. Millenarians, however, read such pronouncements with a great sense of urgency. For those, who like the fourteenth-century Taborites, were convinced that 'the hour of vengeance had come ... the imitation of Christ meant no longer an imitation of his mercy but only of his rage, cruelty and vengefulness'.[33]

The Taborites, none the less, had not always been prone to violence in their hermeneutics or in their actions. As Kaminsky has argued, Tabor's early history and its Waldesian background should have ill-disposed these radicals toward militant opposition. The reasons for the Taborites' transition from pacifism to aggressiveness are hardly self-evident; as Kaminsky has shown, they involve both interpretive innovations and external circumstance. First, Taborite violence can be understood as a reaction to 'so-called realities'. The alternatives to war were 'evangelical suffering or simple lapse into indifference, a withdrawal from the struggle at the price of submission to the royalists'.[34] Second, Taborite violence was accompanied by developments in theological thought; the Taborites preserved the Waldesian rejection of the authorities' claims to be a Christian order, but concluded that the rejection of the established order required more than spiritual withdrawal. It required a physical withdrawal. This innovation, rooted in traditional notions, made the physical struggle possible.[35]

For the Tafurs, the Taborites, Müntzer, Hut, and Matthys, to name only a few, following the righteous Christ was a mandate to break with the world of sin and, indeed, even to hate the world.[36] This hatred of the world, so contrary to mainstream interpretations of the Gospel, was rooted in the Christian tradition through a literal understanding of some of Christ's own exhortations: 'If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple' (Luke 14:26).[37]

Mainstream Christians understood these statements as exhortations to love God above all else. To some millenarians, however, these were direct mandates to abandon all, mandates to '[f]ollow me, and leave the dead bury their own dead' (Matthew 8:21–22).[38] In their abandonment of the world, many millenarians were comforted by Christ's own assurances that 'there is no man who has left house or wife or brothers and parents or children, for the sake of the Kingdom of God, who will not receive manifold more this time, and in the age to come, eternal life' (Luke 18:29–30).

Those who took Christ's assurances to heart but decided to collect their reward now rather than awaiting the new kingdom distorted the established Christian vision in at least two ways: (1) they emphasized the righteous messiah to the exclusion of the suffering Christ; and (2) they exaggerated the redemptive value of suffering, often believing that their tribulations had made them divine. Like the righteous Christ image, self-deification had its roots in

traditional Christian notions, now distorted and re-evaluated. Müntzer's trajectory provides a good illustration of this two-tiered path to heresy.

Thomas Müntzer (c1489–1525) was a radical reformer and itinerant pastor influenced by the ideas of Martin Luther and the millenarian notions of Nicholas Storch, a Bohemian preacher and leader of a rebellious weavers' group. Müntzer's place in modern memory has been assured by the high regard in which Marxists and communists have held him. Müntzer, who is reputed to have been 'the first Protestant theocrat' to advocate a Christian crusade to liberate the world from sin, earned his martyr's status among these circles because of his involvement in the German Peasants' War in 1524–25.[39]

He wrote several revolutionary and denunciatory treatises, advocated a radical socio-economic equality among all Christians, announced that the end of the world was at hand, and eventually also advocated violence to force others – primarily orthodox Catholics – to accept the Holy Spirit 'in their souls' as those in the 'League of the Elect' had done. He is best known as the chaplain to rebellious peasants first in Muhlhausen and later in Thuringia and for his involvement in various protest movements which eventually led to his execution by the authorities.

Like most Christians, at least Christians since the introduction of Gnostic ideas into the religion, Müntzer believed

> that by submitting to crucifixion he [Christ] had pointed the way to salvation. For he who would be saved must indeed suffer most direly, he must indeed be purged of all self-will and freed from everything that binds him to the world and to created beings.[40]

In all of this, Müntzer simply echoed a notion that Mendel has described as the traditional Christian dialectics of suffering:

> ... through suffering, one paid the price of sin and thereby regained – redeemed – one's former innocence and divine blessing. Suffering, thus, became a good in itself, a process of constant purification and investment in Salvation.[41]

Müntzer differed dramatically from the mainstream interpretation in his perception of the effects of voluntary suffering upon human beings. Mainstream Christians regarded voluntary suffering as a sort of investment in salvation to be redeemed at a later point. Müntzer believed that after a period of ascetic preparation and a period of God-imposed tribulations, the adept received within himself the 'living Christ'. Once received, "the 'living Christ" enters the soul for ever more; and the man so favored becomes a vessel of the Holy Spirit'.[42]

In short, such a man becomes in effect God.

Müntzer's distortions followed a simple reasoning. This reasoning provided the logic for the abandonment of the suffering Christ as a model of behavior and the subsequent adoption of the righteous Christ. For Müntzer, redemption through suffering was so effective that it had brought his followers on a par with God. Because suffering had now erased all of the followers' sins, and their divine condition rendered them incapable of sinning anew, further suffering was pointless and unnecessary. In other words, those who have become God need no longer imitate Christ's passion; rather, they are called upon to imitate God's glory.

Perverse as this logic appeared to mainstream Christians, it cannot be said to be uniquely Müntzer's. Similar views can be found in the doctrines of self-deifying Free Spirits, Adamites, and Taborites among others. Many adepts of the Free Spirit, for instance, held that after a preparatory period of physical penance that could extend for years, they were wholly transformed into God. The process of this transformation began, tellingly, through the denial of the body and culminated with self-deification:

> First came a period during which the novice practiced various techniques, ranging from self-abnegation and self-torture to the cultivation of absolute passivity and indifference, designed to include the desired psychic condition. Then, after a training which might last for years, came the reward. 'The Spirit of Freedom or the Free Spirit', said one adept, 'is attained when one is wholly transformed into God.'[43]

In support of such notions, the adepts of the Free Spirit cited the Scriptures: 'No one born of God commits sin; for God's nature abides in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God' (I John 9:3).[44]

Religious leaders claiming some sort of divine or messianic status abound in the Jewish and Islamic traditions. According to Raphael Patai, 'the list of legendary Redeemers, or quasi-Messianic charismatic figures' within the Jewish tradition includes Moses, Elijah, King Hezekiah, Menahem ben 'Amiel, Menahem ben Hezekiah and Bar Kokhba, and, in later times, Kabbalistic masters such as Yitzhaq Luria and his disciple Hayyim Vital, both of whom claimed Messianic status.[45] Writing of Kabbalists and Hasidic adepts, Patai adds that these men who 'could not restrain their desperate impatience with the delay in the coming of the Messiah' became 'convinced that the esoteric doctrines they had mastered, and the powers of saintliness they had acquired by years of ruthless mortification of their flesh, would enable them to "hasten the End", as the phrase goes'.[46]

Christian millenarians, then, were not unique in their tendency towards self-deification. There may be, nonetheless, a peculiarly Christian path to

this exalted condition. For Christian millenarians self-deification was possible only in the context of a Christian tradition that regarded suffering as the primary mechanism of redemption and espoused a faith in the complete eradication of sin.

As Mendel notes, the consequences of self-deification extend beyond offending the sensibilities of the orthodox. Millenarian self-deification was prominent among the forces that allowed medieval millenarians to lash out against society without fear of punishment and with the certainty that they were doing the world a great service. Because, as Mendel explains, the 'Christian dialectic leading through suffering to salvation, Crucifixion to incarnation, came to be seen as the fate of society and the world, as well as that of the individual',[47] those convinced that they were already saved soon became equally convinced that the world would be redeemed. If suffering on the individual scale liberated the soul, suffering on a grand scale would liberate the world.

Poverty, Asceticism and Sexuality

Mendel finds the origins of the Christian millenarian preoccupations with poverty, sexuality and the denial of the body in the doctrines of Gnosticism, a philosophical and religious movement that found much favor during the formative period of Christianity. According to Mendel, the Gospels' 'carefree disregard for material needs and radical opposition to sexuality' constituted a departure from Christianity's Jewish heritage. The Jewish tradition regarded material progress and pleasure positively, and Jewish escathology traditionally harbored expectations of material abundance and sensuous pleasures. Under Gnostic influence, however, the Christians' understanding of the body, of the physical world, and of the coming millennium were altered dramatically. Inspired by the Gnostics and by their own tradition of the exaltation of suffering, Christians came to view practices such as voluntary poverty, asceticism, and the denial of sexual pleasures as meritorious and eschatologically significant. Through all of these acts, the believer negated his attachment to the physical world and signalled his absolute faith in God and the coming millennium.

To prepare for the times to come, many Christians attempted to be 'in' the world without being 'of' the world. During the early period, the influence of these views was manifest in the privations of the Desert Fathers and the self-imposed mortifications of the stylites and anchorites. During medieval times, such views would still be evident in the poverty and asceticism of many millenarian groups. Mendel holds that Gnostic influences also affected the Christians' attitudes towards sexuality. However, rather than imbuing sexuality with the carefree air that they

brought to matters of poverty, Gnosticism lent Christian sexuality a repressive tone: 'If the bread of the spirit could supplant that of the body, the passion of the spirit could surely replace that of the flesh.'[48] Thus, the principle of detachment from the world triumphed over the Jewish millenarian vision. For Christians, true merit now resided in poverty and the judicious control of sexuality, a force that threatened to impose the needs and wants of the body above the concerns of the spirit.

According to Cohn, however, the last ingredients of the medieval millenarian vision of the physical world did not originate with the Gnostics. Prior to the medieval period, Cohn argues, mainstream Christians thought of the ideal society of the millennial hopes as a state of the past, a Golden Age lost after the fall of Man. The transformation of the 'spiritual' millennial order of old into a 'dynamic social myth' capable of inspiring violence during medieval times was something new, the result of millenarian distortions of criticisms that non-revolutionary preachers were leveling against the rich and powerful.[49]

The millenarian social myth, however, had deep roots in the generalized Christian tradition of the Last Days. This period which would mark the birth pangs of the millennium had long been portrayed as the occasion for the revenge of the poor against the great. But the vision had laid relatively dormant for centuries because Christianity had lost much of its millenarian impulse since its institutionalization:

> [t]his portrayal of the Day of Judgement presents the whole complaint of the lowly against the 'great' – and presents it moreover, as part of a great eschatological drama. All that was required in order to turn such a prophecy into revolutionary propaganda of the most explosive kind was to bring the Day of Judgement nearer – to show it not as happening in some remote indefinite future but as already at hand.[50]

Unlike the Gnostics, some medieval Christian millenarians were not content to live in the world without being of it. Though desirable at times, withdrawal was for some an insufficient and inadequate response to the sinfulness of the world. Though both Christians and Gnostics believed that when the millennium materialized, the distinctions between the rich and the poor would vanish, only Christian millenarians came to believe that a millennial condition capable of erasing all distinctions, transforming nature itself, and eliminating scarcity was realizable there and then.

Because since the days of St Augustine of Hippo (354–430) the tradition of the Last Days had been interpreted in non-literal and defusing ways, non-revolutionary preachers issued their criticisms of the great with the expectation that their statements would be interpreted symbolically as well. For mainstream Christians and many millenarians who did not hold

revolutionary pretensions, the revenge of the poor was: (1) a call for the rich to behave justly and mercifully; (2) a consolation for the righteous poor, whose condition would be redressed once the millennium commenced; and, finally, (3) an exhortation for rich and poor alike to place their trust in God. For many medieval millenarians, however, the anticipation of the revenge of the poor proved too urgent. As expectations of an imminent millennium were renewed, the concern with poverty and the accompanying preoccupations with asceticism and sexuality, resurfaced with vigor.

Medieval millenarian interpretations, even if new, were not without precedents. The Montanists, for instance, had issued a call for Christians to become anew the congregation of saintly devotees described by the Apostles in the Gospels. Like their successors, the Montanists identified sanctity and purity with poverty, asceticism and sexual continence. Montanus (2nd century AD) held the view that Christians should marry only once because a second marriage was no more than 'successive' bigamy. Further, Montanus argued, the imminent end of the world made human reproduction senseless. Montanus also introduced new fast regulations which required Christians to demonstrate their self-conquest for extended periods each week and each year. Finally, Montanus sought to glorify martyrdom as a desirable end to a Christian's life and he sought to make of the Church – both clergy and laity – a true community of untainted saints.[51] This last aim would be echoed during the North African schism when the Donatists insisted that at least the clergy should observe absolute purity and freedom from sin, since all sacraments ministered by a tainted priest were invalid.

The Tafurs, who were among the earliest medieval millenarians and infamous for their ferocity, extolled poverty as a sign of their election by God. As Cohn notes, the Tafurs regarded themselves as the elite of the Crusaders precisely on account of their destitution. Too poor to arm or clothe themselves adequately, the Tafurs made a virtue of their indigence, expelling from their ranks anyone found to possess any money. Because they viewed the imminent millennium as the ultimate vindication of the dispossessed, the Tafurs regarded their own present and semi-voluntary poverty as signs of their faithfulness and of God's favor. The Tafurs were not unique. From the twelfth century onwards, Beghards and other bands of what Cohn calls the 'voluntary poor' renounced all property to wander through towns as mendicants. Like the Tafurs, the voluntary poor 'saw themselves as the only true imitators of the Apostles and indeed of Christ'.[52]

The Bohemian Adamites, a later millenarian group whose members held no property of their own, would surpass the voluntary poor by claiming that their condition of poverty and their wholly spiritual lives, made them superior to Christ.[53]

In order to follow Christ unencumbered by attachments and to signal the dissolution of bonds with the material world, crusading paupers, Tafurs, Beghards, and others, sold or renounced private property and systematically castigated their bodies in preparation for the millennium. Radical Taborite thinkers in the fifteenth century such as Jesenic, for instance, argued that 'it would be necessary for the republic to return to an evangelical polity, with all things held in common; then according to the Apostle's rule, we should be content with having food and clothing [I. Tim. 6:8], and we should follow the Lord's counsel, not rashly contending with anyone'.[54] Such statements led Kaminsky to conclude that 'in general it may be said that Hussitism knew no other ultimate ideal than that of reducing the world to the estate of the Primitive Church of the apostles'.[55]

Anabaptists, first under Hut and later under Bockelson's leadership (1534–35), also sought the abolition of private property in imitation of the original state of nature which they sought to bring about. The Anabaptists' reasoning offers a telling illustration of the connections that many millenarians perceived between the ownership of property and the perpetuation of sin. According to an Anabaptist thinker, private property did more than tie humankind to the physical world; it deprived human beings of their humanity. After the fall of Man,

> Nimrod began to rule and then whoever could manage it got the better of the other. And they started dividing the world up and squabbling about property. Then Mine and Thine began. In the end people became so wild, they were just like wild beasts.[56]

Among some medieval millenarians, the abandonment of property in emulation of the primitive church was a first step in a path leading to ever greater commitments and eventually to violence:

> [n]o amount of common sense and no assertion of ordinary morality can obscure the fact that the Taborite prophets, in the agony of their situation, had caught an authentic strain of the Christian tradition – or perhaps of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Some of their Biblical texts were twisted rather violently, but most actually meant what the adventists said they meant, namely that in certain critical moments even the most virtuous normality falls short of the total commitment demanded by God, and that in the light of such a total commitment, the ordinary life of the world, whether lived well or badly, is radically meaningless.[57]

Though voices according poverty an ultimate significance retained radical implications, at times circumstances allowed such voices to be heard through officially-sanctioned or mainstream channels. For St Francis of

Assisi (1182–1226), for instance, poverty and celibacy were expressions of a single attitude, a repudiation of man's carnal nature for the sake of perfect discipleship: 'Let us hate our body with its vices and sins, for by living carnally it wants to take us from the love of Christ and eternal life, and lose itself and all things in hell.'[58] To St Francis:

> salvation meant following the path of Christ in a life of humility, poverty and obedience to God; each was inseparable from the other; humility meant poverty of spirit just as perfect obedience meant renunciation of all possessions. Remove one and the others fell away. Thus unmitigated and all-embracing poverty was integral to such a conception; it was not a separate vow which could be detached or modified, but a tangible expression of the spirit of humility and obedience to Christ: the only state appropriate to hisemulation: the apostolic way of life.[59]

St Francis's influential vision of the apostolic life took to heart notions already found in the Scriptures. When Christ sent out his disciples to preach the Word, he instructed them as follows:

> These twelve Jesus sent out, charging them, 'Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And preach as you go saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand". Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons. You received it without paying, give without pay. Take no gold, nor silver, nor copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor a staff; for the labourer deserves his food.' (Matthew 10: 5–11)[60]

Christ's instructions and St Francis's vision found concrete expression in his formation of a band of monks known as the Franciscans. Life within the mainstream material world, however, soon proved a challenge to the original principles of the organization. As the order came to prominence within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, a deep rift emerged. The majority of the monks, known as the Conventuals, favored a compromise position that permitted the order – as an institution – to own land and property in order to discharge their many ecclesiastical duties. A faction known as the Franciscan Spirituals adhered to a stricter formulation of St Francis's ideal and refused to own property or to hold it in usufruct. The Spirituals, influenced by popular Joachimist ideas, developed as a sort of renegade millenarian group within the Church before they were finally expelled.[61] For the Spirituals, as for many other millenarians, poverty, suffering and millenarian expectations were inseparable aspects of a single vision. According to the Spirituals' expectations, Joachim's Third Age and the true

Church were to be ushered in by barefoot monks dedicated to ascetic and apostolic lives. As Reeves has pointed out, however, the millenarian understanding of apostolic poverty often differed from the mainstream's in one important respect:

> This motif of backward aspiration had, of course, an important place in the history of medieval religious movements. But the distinctive characteristic of all the groups we have studied is that their faith sprang from a 'myth of the future' – not the past. Their reading of past history enabled them to complete the pattern of things to come in the Last Age and to find their own cosmic role within this pattern. Their models might be drawn from the past, but their belief was that the life of the future would far exceed that of the past. It was not so much a recapturing of the life of the first Apostles that they expected as the creating of the life of the new apostles. It was this claim, which so easily passed into arrogance, which most shocked and offended the orthodox.[62]

Because medieval millenarians held detachment from the world in such high regard, they rejected the wealthy and the clergy and generally found their leaders among those members of the laity and the mendicants 'whom they could regard as purely spiritual beings, remote from material concerns and calculations, free from the needs and desires of the body'.[63] The potential for confrontation was implicit in the millenarians' esteem for poverty because their exaltation of this condition was accompanied by a tendency to deny those thought to live in luxury all legitimacy and authority. Thus, the millenarian perception that the lives of the clergy and the wealthy were dominated by avarice and lustfulness frequently resulted in violence.[64]

The Brethren of the Cross and Schmidd's followers, for instance, refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Pope and the secular powers precisely on the grounds that they led lives of luxury and attachment to the world. Holding that their sacrifices – poverty and flagellation – rendered them incapable of sin, both Schmidd and many of the Brethren of the Cross claimed to be exempt from extant law and custom.[65] The Taborites, for their part, would outdo many other millenarian groups in their invectives toward the clergy by calling for a final assault against the Anti-Christ, whom they identified with the Pope himself and with the wealthy. Taborite doctrine held that this attack would precipitate the inauguration of the classless society of the Kingdom to come. Jakob Bohm (1575–1624), a subsequent millenarian leader in the Taborite tradition, went as far as declaring that now that the millennium was imminent, killing a cleric had become a meritorious act.[66]

In 1230 Willem Cornelis, who had been a cleric himself, declared in Antwerp that properly observed poverty abolished every sin. Not content

with this declaration, Cornelis also asserted that the converse of that truth was equally valid: if the poor were saved by virtue of their condition, the dissolute monks and priests were damned because they did not observe perfect poverty.[67] Later, Anabaptists would challenge the official clergy on similar grounds. In Münster, an area where clerics enjoyed great privileges, and where the bishops 'enjoyed no religious prestige whatsoever ... since they lived luxurious and purely secular lives',[68] the Anabaptist charges gained many a sympathetic ear.

Besides provoking conflicts with the authorities, the negative assessment of the clergy, like the messianic woes, fueled millenarian expectations. Mendel notes:

> [T]he conclusive testimony that these were, indeed, the Last Days was the fact that the traditional sanctuary, the rock to which Jesus had told people to cling while awaiting his return, the Mother Church herself, had been corrupted by its earthly treasure of power and wealth, seduced by the demonic 'ruler of this world'.[69]

Despite its intensity, or perhaps because of it, the millenarian denial of the physical world frequently resulted in a paradoxical degree of amoral self-indulgence. This transformation often resulted from millenarian self-deification. Because the process has already been discussed, the comments here will explain why Christian millenarian self-deification commonly resulted in antinomian conduct, particularly in the violation of sexual mores. The trajectories of the Free Spirits, the Anabaptists, and the Bohemian Adamites are useful illustrations.

As described by Cohn, the Free Spirits initially practiced self-mortification and hypernomian sexual conduct; that is to say, they obeyed stricter standards than those upheld by the mainstream. However, as the adepts became convinced that through their discipline their sins had been redeemed, they abandoned their severe practices and purposefully indulged in acts that they would have previously regarded as sexual misconduct. According to Cohn, the Free Spirits held that 'one of the surest marks of the 'subtle in spirit' was precisely the ability to indulge in promiscuity without fear of God or qualms of conscience'.[70] Antinomianism, then, was a sign of the elect.

Like the Free Spirits, other millenarian groups found in self-deification the liberalization or the abolition of sexual norms. Bockelson's Anabaptist followers, for instance, initially observed strict regulations regarding sexuality and later became increasingly more permissive. Liberalization coincided with the emergence of self-aggrandizing notions. During the 1534–35 siege of their stronghold of Münster, Bockelson introduced polygamy, then made some concessions regarding divorce, and finally

turned 'polygamy into something not very different from free love'.[71] The Bohemian Adamites went even further. Once convinced of their own divinity, the Adamites expressed their new-found freedom through free love and ritual nudity. Indeed, the Adamites even came to regard exclusive marriage as sinful.[72]

Tempting as it is to regard the chiliasts' tendency toward sexual misconduct as an instance of a radical break with Christianity, the evidence suggests that even in their rebellious misconduct, millenarians relied on the prevalent Christian norm as a frame of reference. Though the twelfth century witnessed the transformation of marriage from an essentially secular event into a sacrament of the Church, this change took place without a radical transformation of ambivalent sentiments toward sexuality. Many mainstream Christians continued to regard marriage as 'second best', thinking that 'celibacy was a loftier state'.[73] This attitude, which originated with the third and fourth centuries' monastic traditions, persisted even though in the New Testament 'there is nothing to suggest that the celibate or virgin state is in any way higher or holier than the estate of marriage'.[74] St Paul, for instance, taught much along traditional Judaic lines that man's body was God's creation and as such was not to be despised. According to Frank Bottomley, the Christians' attitude towards the body parted ways with Paul's vision at a time 'when the medieval mind seemed more concerned with the building up of man than with the analysis of his being, much of the Gospels and other New Testament writings, which were in fact and expansion of the various aspects of Pauline doctrine, were misunderstood and falsely used to support contempt of the body and a variety of puritanism and ascetic theories'.[75] Curiously, the most notable exception to the New Testament's positive pronouncements on sexuality appears in the book of Revelation (14: 4–5):

> It is these who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are chaste; it is these who follow the Lamb wherever he goes; these have been redeemed from mankind as first fruits for God and the Lamb, and in their mouth no lie was found, for they are spotless.[76]

Though most Christians did not embrace a celibate life style, the notion of the spiritual superiority of celibacy found expressions in the mainstream traditions as well as among millenarians. The medieval monastic orders, for instance, embraced lives of poverty and chastity and for these reasons enjoyed great reverence among the populace.

Contrary to the way it appears, millenarian attitudes towards sexuality were not necessarily carefree. In the Christian context, casualness and ease would have been atypical indeed. The trajectory of some violent medieval millenarian groups suggests that even when some social codes were being consciously violated, sexual norms would be observed. Social

revolutionaries like the Taborites, for instance, appear to have remained strictly monogamous throughout their existence.[77] Other groups, such as the flagellants, avoided even casual contact with women throughout their pilgrimages. Indeed, it seems that it was precisely because the Christian tradition viewed sexual misconduct with abhorrence, that the self-deifying millenarians regarded the violation of the norm as such a powerful measure of their newly-acquired divine status:

> [w]hat emerges then is an entirely convincing picture of an eroticism which, far from springing from a carefree sensuality, possessed above all a symbolic value as a sign of spiritual emancipation...[78]

The trepidation associated with the introduction of new sexual codes suggests that even among those groups that made of sexual misconduct the essential expression of their divinity, negative Christian attitudes towards sexuality persisted at least for a time. In order to introduce polygamy into his community, Bockelson 'argued for days on end and finally threatened dissenters with the wrath of God'.[79] Before the new institution was accepted by these Anabaptists, an armed rebellion would take place leading to 50 executions. Even among the Adamites sexual conduct was not as informal and unregulated as it first appears. Adamites were barred from engaging in sexual intercourse without the explicit consent of their leader, Adam-Moses, who would bless approved unions with the phrase 'Go, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth.'[80]

In addition, it is relevant to note that the repertoire of millenarian sexual misconduct was limited. Christian antinomianism, it would appear, followed certain prescribed modes. Mainstream Christian conventions confined sexual relations to monogamous married partners and frowned upon same-sex liaisons, pre-marital and extramarital affairs. Millenarians generally violated these conventions in only two of many possible ways; they practiced polygyny and/or something akin to 'free-love'. Polyandry and same sex liaisons, if they occurred at all, appear to have been exceptions to the millenarian rule.

Millenarian sexual behavior, peculiar and outrageous as it was, appears to have taken its cue from the possibilities offered in the Christian mainstream traditions. References to polygyny abound in the Scriptures and in the lives of the patriarchs. Free-love, or at least sexual contact without shame, was regarded, for its part, as a sign of paradisiacal grace. The Genesis story of the creation of man's companion concluded with the remark (Gen. 3: 25) '[a]nd the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed'. Some seeking to create a state of absolute grace for the elect may well have signaled their success by imitating some aspects of the sexual conduct of humanity before the Fall.

In regard to poverty, self-deification also resulted in an ambiguous distortion of traditional Christian attitudes. As with sexuality, contradictions in the millenarians' behavior abounded. Though millenarians decidedly regarded poverty as a sign of their election, they frequently muddled matters once they became convinced of their divinity. The adepts of the Free Spirit in Schweidnitz, for instance, abandoned self-mortification and took to wearing fine dresses beneath the hooded robes associated with their penance. Similarly, Bockelson had himself crowned and lived in an ostentatious manner, all the while imposing upon his followers a strict austerity; 'he explained that pomp and luxury were permissible for him because he was wholly dead to the world and the flesh'.[81]

The ambiguity of millenarian poverty reflected in part the adepts' belief that in the millennium the last would be the first. Pruystinck, a Free Spirit leader, dressed in shredded robes studded with jewels 'as though to symbolize at once his vocation of poverty and his claim to supreme dignity'.[82] The ambiguity also suggests, however, that just as occurred with matters of sexuality, many millenarians were not willing to break completely with the norm. Thus, most 'Gods' continued to observe poverty, itself an exalted state, in spite of their new status.[83]

Apostolate

For Christians, following Christ implied the responsibility to disseminate the 'good news' of the Gospel. True to the original tradition of proselytism, many medieval millenarians engaged in apostolic activities. Some groups made of their ascetic practices a proselytizing tool. The flagellants, for instance, conducted their penance before large crowds, and accompanied the performance with readings of a Heavenly Letter and the singing of hymns, perhaps the only ones which had yet been heard in a language understandable to the masses'.[84] Other groups, among them the Beghards, the Amaurians, the Taborites and the Anabaptists, produced and distributed tracts in the vernacular. Most medieval millenarians also engaged in public preaching by means of itinerant speakers, a practice that 'owing to the general debasement of the clergy was more or less a forgotten thing' in late medieval times.[85]

Just as the apostles had done, Christian millenarian proselytizers propagated along with the 'good news' a denunciation of the world and its sinfulness. This denunciation was frequently manifested in invectives against the wealthy and the official Church.

The connections between discipleship, poverty, and proselytism are perhaps nowhere as evident as in the life of John Waldus. According to Nigg,

> ... Waldus – and this was new – did not think of a life of poverty in monastic terms. He considered it to be the commandment for all Christians, not to be practiced only in a cloister but to be applied in practical life.
>
> In thus espousing poverty Waldus had set foot upon an invisible track that led him on inexorably from stage to stage. He next felt called upon to emulate the apostolic life as it is described in the Gospels. ... Waldus took the words literally. Henceforth he would follow nakedly a naked Jesus, would be forever a pilgrim, calling no place on earth his home.
>
> ... Now, taking his inspiration from the missionary word of Jesus, Waldus considered it to be all-important to proclaim the Word. Though an unlearned layman, he went out on the streets and began to preach.[86]

The millenarian apostolate owed its impetus to the survival of the Christian 'universalist' conception of salvation described by Talmon. Medieval millenarians, though patently elitist in their eschatology, continued to hold in some distorted way the belief that the conversion of the misbeliever remained possible. Indeed, even groups that advocated violence against the non-elect continued to seek converts. All the while encouraging the righteous to take up arms against the unbelievers to prepare the way for the millennium, John Matthys sent out apostles from town to town to baptize anew the unconverted. Bockleson, responding for his part to a revelation that occurred during the siege of Münster, sent out 26 apostles to urge neighboring towns to convert and come to his assistance. Though the modern observer is inclined to see in these acts strategic or self-serving motivations, Cohn notes that Bockleson had the opportunity to escape the siege, but chose instead the less efficient and more dangerous path of remaining in the town and sending out apostles.

The seemingly odd millenarian tendency to engage in proselytism during periods of adversity has often been noted. According to Festinger, Reicken and Schachter, proselytism is one way in which adepts may confront the 'dissonance' associated with circumstances or events that appear to disconfirm the millenarian vision. The reasoning is simple: 'if more and more people can be persuaded that the system of belief is correct, then clearly it must, after all, be correct'.[87] In Barkun's words, 'millenarian movements contain a dynamic of growth' and that growth itself 'serves as a means of validation'.[88]

Evading the apparent contradiction, many medieval millenarians believed that the elect were truly an elite and also that anyone who changed

his or her heart and followed Christ would be saved. As if to illustrate this paradox, Cohn writes of the Amaurians:

> Yet this [universal Incarnation of the Holy Spirit] did not mean that in Amaurian eschatology the Kingdom was no longer reserved for an elite of Saints. The minds of these obscure intellectuals were too steeped in the traditional messianic phantasies which were current among the masses. ... the world would pass through catastrophies – the familiar messianic woes – in which the majority of mankind were to perish ... which makes it clear enough that only a 'saving remnant' were expected to survive to taste the joys of divinity.[89]

Indeed, the extermination of the majority would occur because even when given the opportunity, the recalcitrance of the misbelievers would dominate most. Though Jews, the clergy, the wealthy and even the Muslims could theoretically gain salvation through conversion, they generally refused to accept the Gospel; and it was precisely for that reason that Christian millenarians despised them so. If not all were to be saved, it was not because conversion could be no more; it was because most misbelievers refused to convert and chose instead to stand in the way of the coming millennium.

Ironically, the millenarian desire to exterminate those who refused conversion has its roots in the traditional hope for a wholly Christian world, an ideal closely associated with the universalist conception of salvation. While mainstream Christians generally regarded evangelizing and conversion as the primary means for the Christianization of the world, many chiliasts found the collective annihilation of the unconverted and their misbelief acceptable and even desirable. According to Cohn, the ideological impetus for this violent program was the legacy of the Johanine and Sibylline traditions which held that misbelief must be eradicated so that the millennium may come about.[90]

Such notions were first held by the crusading pauperes, and especially by the Tafurs, who believed that the rising of the New Jerusalem depended 'not only on the self-immolation of the crusaders but also the massacre of the infidel'.[91] Similarly, fifteenth-century Taborite doctrine, which found its most virulent expression in the Bohemian Adamites, held that the adepts were 'avenging angels whose mission it was to wield the sword throughout the world until all the unclean had been cut down'.[92] The Adamites attempted to fulfill their mission by staging nocturnal attacks against villages and towns near their island stronghold.

Once more, a distorted traditional Christian aim – the desire to see a world united under the Gospel – would drive millenarians to outrageous acts. The mainstream Christian propensity to convert by the sword suggests, however, that in this instance millenarians had not strayed far from their

origins. What distinguished millenarians from other Christians in their crusading zeal was their definition of the ranks of the infidel.

Patterns of Violence

As shown in the preceding pages, the Christian tradition writ large lent some sense to the seemingly arbitrary and eccentric acts of millenarians. None the less, an important aspect of millenarian behavior retains an air of inscrutability. The specific, violent acts of Christian millenarians betray few patterns and seem to share only a few commonalities.

When compared to other religious groups, Christian millenarians appear rather haphazard in their uses and means of violence. In contrast, groups such as Thugs, Assassins and Zealots-Sicarii obeyed highly ritualized and traditional norms in their choice of weapons, selection of victims and manner of attack. The Assassins, for instance, avoided arrows and swords in favor of daggers, weapons that required close proximity and usually precluded the assailants' escape. Though they had ample resources to wage open battles against the authorities, Assassins usually eschewed such tactics in favor of attempts upon individual officials. Generally, a *fidayeen* (consecrated or dedicated one) would be pitted against an orthodox leader who had been found to stand in the way of the 'New Preaching' or to contribute to the corruption of Islam. According to Rapoport, the Assassins' 'peculiar reluctance to modify their tactics or to use resources more efficiently probably had its origins, as the doctrines of all millenarian groups do, in reinterpretations of major precedents in the parent religion'.[93] In this case, Rapoport argues, Assassin strategy was probably inspired by events in Muhammad's own life.

The Assassins apparently understood the traditional injunction prohibiting the use of swords against other Muslims to mean that true believers could expedite the arrival of the Messiah by employing other weapons. In this respect, Rapoport proposes, they were hardly unique. Earlier Islamic millenarians had ascribed similar importance to the selection of weapons and '[i]n each case, the weapon chosen precluded escape and invited martyrdom'.[94] A formalization of violent behaviors comparable to that of the Assassins seems to have been rare among Christian millenarian groups. Indeed, among the Christian groups reviewed only the Circumcellions appear to have employed a ritual weapon. Interestingly, the use of 'Israels', the cudgels that these North African peasants wielded in battle against well-equipped armies invited martyrdom just as the dagger did among Assassins.

Despite their apparent ritual laxity, Christian millenarian modes of violence do exhibit some peculiarities. In the space below, I offer a few

rather tentative observations regarding the nature of Christian violence; I do so in the hope that despite their obvious shortcomings, they might serve as fodder for future efforts.

Though various millenarian groups, including the Circumcellions, roamed the countryside, the city played a prominent role in the vision of many Christian millenarians. Indeed, many of them associated the culmination of the 'Kingdom to come' with the founding of a new city of Jerusalem. This vision was in part predicated upon a more or less literal understanding of the famous opening verses of Chapter 21 of the Book of Revelation: 'Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and the sea was no more. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.'

Christian expectations about the city may have been spurred by popular Joachimist traditions as well. According to Reeves, Joachim of Fiore (c1145–c1202) was, like most of his contemporaries, forced to deal with the problem of 'reconciling continuity of authority with spiritual revolution'.[95] The Abbot anticipated a thorough reformation of the Church that would simultaneously preserve the primacy of the Church as an institution. The preservation of the Church's preeminence required that the transformations leading to the *third status* begin within the Church itself, effected by God's intervention via the person of an Angelic Pope. In Joachim's vision, at once revolutionary and conservative, the transformation of the papacy would be accompanied by a spatial movement; the move of the Pope's seat – always a city – from one site to a holier one was to mark the most profound spiritual change. According to Reeves,

> The spiritual revolution was seen by Joachim in terms of a geographical movement from one place to another. David reigned first in Hebron and then was exalted to Jerusalm; even so the papacy, for the pope must first rule over the *ecclesia laborantium*, sweating the active life, and then over the *ecclessia quiescentium*, exulting in the contemplative life.[96]

The influence of Joachim's vision over some thinkers, particularly those within the mendicant orders, can be readily perceived in their visions of the future. In the vision of Roquetaillede, for instance, the new spiritual age was to be ushered under the dual auspices of the King of France and the Angelic Pope. The relocated holy city where the pope would sit would then emerge as the center of an ecumenical, unified world:

> After the conversion of the Jews he [the Pope] will transfer the Holy See to Jerusalem, holding several general world councils on the

> conversion of the world. The New Jerusalem will be built but no secular ruler allowed there for fear of contaminating the clergy. Then there will be such an outpouring of the Holy Spirit that Paradise will seem to have descended again.[97]

The role of the city in millenarian religious expectations may help to explain, at least in part, why cities and towns were often the foci of Christian millenarian outbursts. However, rather than attempting to liberate old Jerusalem itself as the crusading pauperes and the Tafurs had done, many millenarians (both thinkers and those active in popular folk movements) seemed content to attempt the transformation of a town in their vicinity into a facsimile of the holy site. The selection of the town often resonated with a measure of regional chauvinism, with Taborites favoring Bohemian towns and ordered mendicants like Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98) choosing sites within their place of origin, in this case Florence.[98]

The early Montanists, for instance, believed that the New Jerusalem would soon descend from heaven on to Phrygian soil and they summoned believers to congregate there to await the Second Coming. Over a millennium later, Anabaptists came to believe that the German city of Münster would be spared the agonies of the coming calamities and would in short time become the New Jerusalem. So large was the number of believers, they came to dominate the town. Anabaptist leaders issued various calls to the elect to come to Münster:

> Food, clothes, money and accommodation would be ready for the immigrants on their arrival, but they were to bring arms. The summons met with a vigorous response. From as far afield as Frisia and Brabant Anabaptists streamed to Münster...[99]

The Taborites, for their part, urged all seeking to be saved from the wrath of God to leave their homes – 'as Lot left Sodom' – and to find refuge in one of the five cities that were to be spared. 'The reaction of some Taborites to the threat of annihilation', Kaminsky reminds us, 'was a renewal of the old message: congregate and find salvation among the faithful brethren!'[100] The Taborite message, then, though radical in its implications was hardly new. The words of a Taborite prophet, illustrate this point well:

> The time of the greatest suffering, prophesied by Christ in his scriptures, the apostles in their letters, the prophets, and St John in the Apocalypse, is now at hand; it has begun; it stands at the gates! And in this time the Lord commands the elect to flee from the midst of the evil ones, through Isaiah 51: 'Go out from their midst, my people' so that each may save his soul from the wrath of God and be spared his blows.[101]

Unlike Thugs or Assassins, most Christian millenarians seem neither to have singled out their victims individually nor to have undertaken their immolation singly. Indeed, rather than engaging in clandestine actions against particular officials or specific types of individual victims, most Christians seem to have engaged in either generalized indiscriminate attacks, as the Adamites did, or in open, staged confrontations against the forces of state and religious authorities, as was the case with Anabaptists, Taborites and many others.[102] Open confrontations, of course, may have been an inevitable result of the disruptions of public order and attacks against property in which Christians regularly engaged.

Finally, it seems appropriate to restate here an observation made in the opening pages: Christian millenarians frequently undertook violent actions at times when defeat was all but certain. This foolhardiness appears misguided only if we ignore that for many millenarians martyrdom was a highly desirable end. Indeed, from the millenarian perspective, adverse circumstances were paradoxically ideal; they invited immolation and guaranteed the adepts' deliverance. In some sense, then, the worse the timing of violence, the better the results. In this respect, however, Christians were not unique; Jewish and Islamic millenarians display a similar penchant for martyrdom.

Conclusion

Although a different view may be inferred from my attempts to find the roots of millenarian notions in the distortion of Christian themes and ideas, I am convinced that Mannheim's assertion is correct: ideas, whether new or old, orthodox or heretical, did not *cause* violent medieval millenarians to act in the manner that they did:

> Nothing could be more misleading than to try to understand these events from the point of view of the 'history of ideas'. 'Ideas' did not drive these men to revolutionary deeds. Their actual outburst was conditioned by ecstatic-orgiastic energies.

What Christian ideas, themes, or traditions did do, if not provoke millenarian outbursts, was to limit and mold the avenues of expression that these energies would take once they had been unleashed. The Christian dialectics of suffering, for instance, did not require or provoke the self-mortifying or self-indulgent excesses of medieval millenarians. What the Christian vision of suffering did provide was a possibility for precisely the sort of distortion that would surface time and again among different groups, namely the tendency towards self-deification.

If the causes of medieval millenarian violence cannot be ascribed

entirely to the religious traditions and their distortion, neither can they be completely accounted for through a description of social conditions. Unlike Cohn, who proposes that violent millenarian outbursts were caused by a combination of social resentment, revolutionary expectation and millennial 'phantasies', I have tried to show that the millenarian religious views and expectations also generated an internal momentum that perpetuated violence once it had been unleashed. Though external socio-political circumstances were undoubtedly of great importance to medieval millenarians, especially if they served as portents of the Last Days, religious ideas were for millenarians more than ideological justifications for the pursuit of secularly-inspired goals. Indeed, the actions of many millenarians were shaped and justified by forces originating from within Christianity. If the millenarians could become gods it was because Christian suffering was so effective, not because they were a mob of self-aggrandizing sociopaths. If the millenarians understood their divine status as a call to judge the world, it was not because they were at heart secular revolutionaries; it was because they sought to transform and redeem the world in accordance with a religious vision.

NOTES

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1. David C. Rapoport, 'Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions', *American Political Science Review* 78/3 (Sept. 1984), pp.659–60.
2. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace, 1985), p.207.
3. Ibid., p.214.
4. Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250–1450* Vol.1 (NY: Manchester UP, 1967), p.2.
5. Ibid.
6. Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale UP, 1974), p.7.
7. Ibid., p.101.
8. Sylvia L. Thrupp (ed.), *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (NY: Schocken, 1970), p.27.
9. Contrary to the emphasis of the presentation in this paper, Cohn argued that early and medieval Christian millenarianism were ideologically distinct. He held that early Christian chiliasm disappeared with the institutionalization of the Church in the fourth century. He also argued that the three types of medieval millenarian movements had different aims. The crusading poor waged war against the infidel because they believed that the disenfranchised had a central role to play in the liberation of Palestine and that this event would usher in the new millennium. The various groups of Joachites who sought individual perfection and spiritual progress frequently functioned as protest or reform movements against the established Church. Finally, those millenarian revolts centered around a prophetic figure generally sought to attain boundless, divinely ordained objectives. For a

complete discussion, see: Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (NY: OUP, 1970), p.14–15 and Thrupp (note 8), pp.20, 31–3.

10. Cohn, ibid., p.40.
11. Rapoport (note 1), p.661.
12. Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: OUP, 1969), p.54.
13. Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (NY: Columbia UP, 1979), p.29.
14. Indeed, accounts such as Kaminsky's *A History of the Hussite Revolution* were conceived in large part as attempts to explain this transition from pacifism to violence, or, in his words, to explain how 'the pietistic religious movement of the fourteenth century ... emerged as a mutiny of 1414–1415 and the revolution the following decade'. See, Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California UP, 1979), p.29.
15. Hillel Schwartz, 'An Overview', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* Vol.8 (NY: Macmillan, 1987), p.526.
16. Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (NY: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), p.1.
17. I am indebted to Prof. Jeffrey Kaplan for formulating this question and for pointing out to me the importance of wrestling with 'questions arising out of the effects of modernity itself on the formation of millennialist movements'. Personal communication, 19 Sept. 1994.
18. Yonina Talmon, 'Millenarian Movements', *European Jnl of Sociology* 7/2 (1966), p.162.
19. The existence of this Christian foundation does not deny the importance of non-Christian sources that gained wide acceptance throughout the Christian world. Gnostic and Manichean thought, the Sybilline Oracles and apocryphal texts exerted great influence over millenarian thought.
20. Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1967), p.30.
21. Cohn (note 9), p.25.
22. Chadwick, *Early Church* (note 20), p.30.
23. W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (London: OUP, 1952), p.174.
24. Ibid., p.175.
25. Walter Nigg, *The Heretics* (NY: Knopf, 1962), p.114.
26. Cohn (note 9), p.212. For another instance of the millenarian tendency to propagate under adverse conditions, see Cohn's description of the Hussite movement on p.208.
27. Ibid., p.128. 'Pauperes' is the name given by chroniclers to the groups of poor folk who participated in the First Crusade (1096–99). Though lacking official institutional sanction, the pauperes regarded themselves as the elite of the crusaders on account of their poverty. Under the leadership of independent prophetic preachers and popular propagandist, the pauperes sought to liberate the city of Jerusalem from Muslim rule.
28. Leff (note 4), Vol.2, p.485.
29. Ibid., p.489.
30. Cohn (note 9), p.127.
31. Ibid., p.157.
32. Arthur P. Mendel, *Vision and Violence* (Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. Michigan UP, 1992), p.40.
33. Cohn (note 9), p.213.
34. Kaminsky (note 14), p.320.
35. Ibid., p.321.
36. The desire to break with the world was frequently marked by the abandonment of property followed by literal withdrawal from society. See the section on poverty, asceticism and sexuality in this text.

    'Tafurs' is the name by which the crusading pauperes who survived the journey to Syria and Palestine are known. Like the pauperes, they believed themselves destined to take the Holy City of Jerusalem precisely on account of their lowly status. To achieve this end, the Tafurs believed that self-immolation and the deaths of the infidels were required. Hut and Matthys, for their part, were two prominent sixteenth century Anabaptist leaders. Hut was

the preacher who first introduced a militant millenarian tone to Anabaptism; like the radical Taborites he proposed to stamp out the government by violent means. He also advocated communal ownership of goods. With Bockleson, Matthys was one of the leaders who ruled the besieged city of Münster, the Anabaptist 'New Jerusalem'. In order to create a pure community on the elect, Matthys advocated the extermination of all misbelievers. For a discussion of Müntzer, see this essay.

37. Mendel (note 32), p.42.
38. Ibid.
39. Eric W. Gritsch, 'Thomas Müntzer', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* Vol.10 (NY: Macmillan, 1987), p.157.
40. Cohn (note 9), p.236.
41. Mendel (note 32), p.36.
42. Cohn (note 9), p.236.
43. Ibid., p.150.
44. Nigg (note 25), p.234.
45. Raphael Patai, *The Messiah Texts* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State UP, 1979), p.24.
46. Ibid., p.65.
47. Mendel (note 32), pp.36–7.
48. Ibid.
49. Cohn (note 9), p.201.
50. Ibid., p.202.
51. Nigg (note 25), pp.104–6.
52. Cohn (note 9), p.157.
53. Ibid., p.219.
54. Kaminsky (note 14), p.65.
55. Ibid.
56. Cohn (note 9), p.258.
57. Kaminsky (note 14), p.316.
58. Leff (note 4), Vol.1, p.60.
59. Ibid., p.61.
60. Ibid., p.89.
61. For detailed discussion of the Franciscan orders, the Franciscan Spirituals and Franciscan millennialism, see: Lázaro Iriarte de Aspurz, *Franciscan History: The Three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi* (Chicago 1983); Kajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order* (Chicago, 1970); Bernard McGinn (ed. and tr.), *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Dur, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola* (NY, 1979); John R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968); John L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1970); and Reeves (note 12).
62. Reeves, ibid., p.291.
63. Cohn (note 9), p.83.
64. Mendel has noted that millenarians also regarded as their enemies 'the moderate opposition, those compromising "hypocrites", whose lack of millenarian zeal threatens to blur the line separating the pure and the blessed new from the foul and accursed old ...'. See Mendel (note 32), p.44.
65. Cohn (note 9), pp.138–42.
66. Ibid., p.227.
67. Ibid., p.158.
68. Ibid., p.257.
69. Mendel (note 32), p.56.
70. Cohn (note 9), p.180.
71. Ibid., p.270.
72. Ibid., p.220.
73. Rosalind and Christopher Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000–1300* (Leipzig: Thames & Hudson, 1984), p.111.

74. James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol.8 (NY: Scribner's, 1924), p.433.
75. Frank Bottomley, *Attitudes to the Body in Western Christendom* (London: Lepus, 1979), p.43.
76. Hastings (note 74), p.433.
77. Cohn (note 9), p.220.
78. Ibid., p.151.
79. Ibid., p.268.
80. Ibid., p.220.
81. Ibid., p.273.
82. Ibid., p.170.
83. Socio-economic factors may have also had an effect on millenarian attitudes. Though people from all sectors of society participated in these chiliastic sects, the bulk of many movements considered here seems to have belonged to relatively poor sectors of society. As a result, the poverty of many millenarians was only semi-voluntary. Even in the event that some millenarians may have desired to abandon all signs of poverty, it seems unlikely that most would have found the means to act upon their wishes.
84. Cohn (note 9), p.134.
85. Nigg (note 25), p.195.
86. Ibid., pp.194–5.
87. Leon Fetinger, Henry W. Reiken and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (Minneapolis, MN: Univ. of Minnesota, 1956), p.28.
88. Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1974), p.115.
89. Cohn (note 9), pp.156–7.
90. Ibid., p.75.
91. Ibid., p.66.
92. Ibid., p.20.
93. Rapoport (note 1), p.667.
94. Ibid., p.665.
95. Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (NY: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), p.73.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., p.80.
98. Ibid., p.88.
99. Cohn (note 9), p.262.
100. Kaminsky (note 14), p.312.
101. Ibid.
102. David C. Rapoport has made similar observations. He has noted that in contrast with Judaism and Islam:

> ... Christian terror is not so intimately connected to underground organizations. The Crusades, for example, had an essential messianic component which produced some grotesque forms of violence ... And for brief moments in the late medieval period the Taborites and the Anabaptists created public arrangements which could be called systems of state terror. (p.196)

Rapoport has also observed that among medieval Christians antinomianism was practiced more publicly than among comparable movements outside of the Christian tradition. See David C. Rapoport, 'Messianic Sanctions for Terror', *Comparative Politics* 20/2 (Jan. 1988), pp.196, 207.

Pai Marire: Peace and Violence in a New Zealand Millenarian Tradition

JEAN E. ROSENFELD

Millenarian movements arise when a people anticipates the imminent death of their particular world. Prophets adopt archetypal roles and reveal myths about the Endtime that relate to their specific antecedent religious histories. By examining the symbolism and the roles adopted by prophets and messiahs we may be able to assess more accurately any given group's potential for violence or terrorism. The multiform Pai Marire tradition in New Zealand exhibited a continuum of behaviors from peaceful to violent, religious to political. Comparison of Pai Marire with like phenomena worldwide would test and refine our provisional conclusions and lead to a heuristic model of millenarianism with greater explanatory value and predictability. Such a model will be strengthened if we examine the religious myths of constituted states and orthodox religions as well as those of sectarian movements.

Millenarian movements arise in a context of despair and proclaim the advent of a new, purified world; they have occurred throughout time among many different peoples.[1] At least one major religion, Christianity, began as a millenarian movement, but not all such groups are religious. According to Michael Barkun, 'true millenarianism' consists of 'those instances in which human beings band together and actually act upon a belief in imminent and total transformation',[2] a definition that would include secular movements. Nineteenth-century Russian anarchists, for example, utilized the apocalyptic paradigm of world destruction, world re-creation, and the survival of the elect as a core myth to justify assassination and revolution.[3]

Our ability to assess how violently or non-violently a particular millenarian movement may behave depends upon many variables: the message prophets promulgate, their interpretation of the community's role in God's plan, whether they emphasize destruction or creation, the concentration of authority in one leader or its devolution upon charismatic disciples, and the response of civil authorities – all may influence whether or not a given group attempts to hasten, vigilantly awaits, or ritually enacts a myth of the Endtime. While an apocalyptic community may anticipate a final war between the forces of light and darkness, it may not actively

initiate that war, but stand apart and interpret the signs of divine intervention in history.

It is the thesis of this study – based upon data from New Zealand prophet movements – that the behavior of an apocalyptic community varies with its archetypes, revelatory myths, and paradigms. If we examine the myth and symbolism of a millennial sect, its antecedent religious tradition, and its historical context, we should be able to gauge whether or not and under what conditions it will resort to violence.

Millenarian movements arise when a people anticipates the imminent death of *their particular world.* The old world is too damaged to be repaired and an entirely new world – often symbolized in terms of a cosmic and social reversal[4] and heralded by comets or other celestial prodigies – must be established in its place. One of the differences between religious and secular movements is that in the latter the world is created anew by human effort, while the former envision divine power(s) destroying the polluted world, judging humanity, and creating a 'a new heaven and a new earth'[5] for the elect. The fact that millenarian movements occur and recur in time and space reminds us that the human yearning for liberation from the humiliations and defeats of historical events constitutes the bedrock of religious renewal.[6]

Although Judaism and Christianity disseminated the myth of a messiah who would punish the wicked, save the elect, destroy the world, and reign over the thousand-year kingdom at the end of history, non-Western mythologies of liberation continue to flourish quite independently of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.[7] The Maori people of New Zealand celebrate gods and saviors who prevail over inimical forces by their cunning, intelligence, self-assertion, and knowledge. The archetypal Maori benefactor is Maui the trickster, who lassoes the sun, obtains fire, and tries to win immortality for human beings.[8]

Pai Marire means 'good and peaceful'. It was founded in the 1860s and has persisted as a coherent tradition in Maori history from 1862 to the present.[9] By 'tradition' I refer to a series of renewal movements that are linked to one another by commonly acknowledged and celebrated events, heroes, sacred words and symbols, all of which exhibit demonstrable continuities.[10] As a religious phenomenon, Pai Marire lends itself to cross-cultural comparison with other millenarian traditions, such as Melanesian 'cargo cults' or Native American movements or South African 'spirit' churches or Seventh Day Adventists.

The Pai Marire tradition also exhibits the chameleon tendency of millenarian movements to alternate between peaceful and violent phases,[11] as well as their potential to evolve into established churches and political parties.[12] A thorough analysis of the copious data on Maori millenarianism would require far more space than is available. I propose to limit myself to

a preliminary consideration of the issues of peace and violence in four movements: the King movement[13] of King Tawhiao; the Pai Marire, or Hauhau, religion of Te Ua; the Ringatu movement of the prophet, Te Kooti; and the Holy Spirit messianism of Rua Kenana. Other new religious movements[14] grew out of Pai Marire as well, but the range of behavior from peaceful exhortations to acts of violence is encompassed by these four.

Some of the Pai Marire data may accord with the emerging cross-cultural theory of millenarianism that has developed in Western scholarship since Norman Cohn's study, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, in 1961.[15] I acknowledge that the preoccupation with violence and terrorism arising from a post-Cold War world, in which the imperial and colonial demarcation of nation-states is breaking down, has intensified our interest in millenarian groups and posed important questions: How do we understand and cope with these independent, largely theocratic, sometimes state-supported, intensely active and polemical, at times separatist and wary movements and communities? What should be our attitude and policy towards phenomena that are routinely characterized by 'mainstream'[16] institutions as bizarre, seditious, and/or heretical? Which ones pose a danger to established societies and which ones are benign? Why do they arise, and how can we understand their non-rational practices and claims to truth? Are their leaders crazy, sociopathic, despotic, holy, inspired, foolish, sage, or misguided? When and how should we approach them? Under what circumstances should civil authorities confront them? I do not propose to answer most of these questions here, but to throw some light where often only heat is applied by understanding one series of millenarian movements in its historical context.[17]

In the ensuing discussion I intend to (1) present some general observations about millenarianism that fit the New Zealand data; (2) give a chronological overview of the Pai Marire tradition; (3) examine certain manifestations of peace, violence, and activism in the tradition; (4) consider whether or not Pai Marire engaged in terrorism; (5) assess why it alternated between peaceful and violent phases; and (6) discuss messianic paradigms and the enactment of apocalyptic myth, in part, by comparing and contrasting the messiahship of Rua Kenana, whose community was raided by police in June 1916, and of David Koresh, the schismatic Adventist whose Branch Davidian community near Waco, Texas, was confronted by the US Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms on 28 February 1993.

General Observations

Because prophets like Te Ua act as a medium[18] for a god, *knowledge of the culture heroes*[19] *in the prophet's own religion is essential to our*

understanding of his intentions and his message. 'Peaceable God' of Pai Marire was a syncretism of Jewish, Christian, and Maori gods who were associated with the heavens.[20] Sky deities[21] are lawgivers, who bestow upon human beings the knowledge they need to defeat their adversaries and create new social worlds founded upon divinely instituted boundaries and rules.[22] In our rational efforts to elucidate the violent potential of millennial communities, we often overlook a movement's positive focus, which is the complete renewal of an exhausted human world.

Throughout history, religion and politics have been inextricably intertwined. The Maori quest for liberation from Europeans has expressed itself in numerous successive, organized attempts to set boundaries around disputed blocks of land, to establish Maori polities, and to assert the sovereignty[23] of Maori leaders over the affairs and territories of their people. Since the 1970s, a political movement has continued the struggle over the land initiated by Pai Marire.

One of the most disturbing aspects of *millenarianism*, borne out by the New Zealand data, is that it *almost always polarizes society, exacerbating existing tensions between rival interest groups, and undermining by schism new political mandates for governance in embryonic and evolving states.*[24] Millenarian movements are not essentially or inherently violent; most groups must be severely provoked before they strike out. I believe that a more accurate understanding of millenarian groups – each in its specific context – may enable us to avoid terrible encounters such as those which occurred at Jonestown, Guyana, and Waco, Texas.[25]

Rapoport has suggested that groups that actively proselytize may resort to violence and terror more readily than non-proselytizing groups.[26] In the New Zealand data, two very different groups are associated with proselytizing: the Church Missionary Society of Britain and the first phase of Pai Marire. Although the Maori have been portrayed as a bellicose people, it was the British who engaged in the greatest number of wars in the nineteenth century. Missionaries served in the enterprise of colonization because Christ commanded his disciples to spread the Christian gospel to the end of the earth and, thereby, to hasten the advent of the millennium. *The British imperial policy was in fact a millennial construct*; it signaled an active phase of orthodox Christian proselytizing. Speaking of the first Christian service held among the Maori, the Reverand Thomas Buddle invoked 'old England' as a millennialist model for the colonial enterprise.

> A flagstaff was erected, and the flag of old England, the flag that has braved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze, was hoisted, an expressive symbol of the dawn of religion and civilization on these savage lands.[27]

Reverend Richard Taylor quoted Mark 16:15, 'Go ye out into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature', as the text that both advanced the Gospel in 'Heathen lands' and increased commerce in order to bring 'the most distant ends of the world together'.[28] Buddle opined 'that if New Zealand become a gem in the British Crown, Christianity will be entitled to the credit of having placed it there'.[29]

A general, theoretical model of millenarianism can be strengthened only if we examine the myths and paradigms of constituted states and orthodox religions with the same lens we apply to schismatic or unorthodox movements.

A Chronological Overview of the Pai Marire Tradition

The Maori of New Zealand are a Polynesian people related to the inhabitants of Hawaii, the Society Islands, Tonga, Samoa, and smaller islands of the tropical Pacific. The Maori migrated to New Zealand in the austral Pacific temperate zone about one thousand years ago. Although they occupied all of the North Island, only part of the South Island permitted settlement.[30] In the North Island they adapted to a world isolated by a thousand miles of ocean from any other major landmass. Their social organization was based upon their identification with the land, which, in turn, was identified with the paramount chief and the tribal ancestors. Removal from their land resulted in social disorganization and signaled the end of their world.

Between 1860 and 1872 Maori dissidents fought a series of wars over the land against loyalist Maori and European troops.

In 1859 a visionary prophet[31] founded a kingdom based upon the motto, 'Religion, law, and love', in the center of the North Island, but the colonial governor declared it unlawful, and it was invaded by imperial forces in 1863. In 1860 the British occupied land claimed by an anti-land-selling chief on the west coast of the North Island and a year-long war broke out, after which an uneasy truce reigned until converts to a new Maori faith attempted to protect all remaining unalienated land in the island by emplacing religious poles in the villages of their adherents. This movement was Pai Marire. Its founder, Te Ua, anointed the second Maori King in 1864, and his apostles challenged the might of the imperial army with words and gestures[32] that they believed would shield them from bullets.

Te Ua is a watershed figure in New Zealand history. He revived the ideal of a pan-Maori world. He established a religious ritual[33] that democratized access to sacred knowledge and allowed commoners to assume the leadership of disaffected groups. Identifying his people as lineal descendents of the Israelites, Te Ua empowered them as Jehovah's chosen

people. He preached that his disciples would regain their land of 'Canaan',[34] which, they alleged, the British missionaries had stolen from beneath their feet.[35]

The specific grievance that provided the historical context for the rise of millenarian movements among the Maori was the deliberate alienation of their land by Europeans. One important study has linked the severe decline in Maori population in the late nineteenth century to land alienation policies pursued by successive European governments.[36] As the Maori lost their land, they became sick, impoverished, and beset by intratribal feuds; in Te Ua's words, they were *tona iwi Wareware, Tuu Kiri Kau, Motu Tuu Haawhe,* 'the forgetful people, standing naked, in the Island [standing or separated] in two halves',[37] a graphic image that evokes a people afflicted by a traumatic break from the world of their past. The rallying cry of the twentieth-century Maori renaissance movement, *mana motuhake,* or 'independence',[38] is a resonant echo of Te Ua's refrain.

By 1866 Te Ua's religion had fomented a civil war among the Maori of the East Coast and evicted most missionaries from tribal settlements. The rebellion was quelled in 1868, but a new prophet, Te Kooti, attacked and killed officials and chiefs during an infamous raid. Before Te Kooti died he prophesied that a messiah[39] would rise up among the East Coast people. In 1906 Rua Kenana declared himself the Ringatu messiah and rallied people around his New Jerusalem settlement at the foot of the region's sacred mountain. By 1916 his attempts to cordon off sacred land were so successful that the government raided his peaceful community and imprisoned him for two and a half years.

Manifestations of Peace, Violence, and Activism in the Pai Marire Tradition

On 5 September 1862 the 'angel of god' appeared to a former slave, Te Ua Haumene.[40] Speaking for 'Peaceable God', the angel Gabriel Rura[41] promised Te Ua that the North Island would be restored to the Maori. Peaceable God also announced new rules: the people must cease witchcraft, quarrelling, and land disputes, and 'practice love to seek salvation'.[42] Te Ua compared himself to St John of Patmos and composed his own Gospel of Peace, which proclaimed that the same 'Ruler'[43] revealed in *Revelation* had appeared to him in order 'that salvation be revealed to this generation'.

It is clear from Te Ua's gospel that he expected imminent liberation of the Maori by Peaceable God. However, he did not employ the terrifying language of world-destruction found in *Revelation,* which Carl Jung branded 'A veritable orgy of hatred, wrath, vindictiveness, and blind destructive fury'.[44] Te Ua's homage to the apocalyptic angel, his adoption of

Jewish salvation history, and his assumption of the role of St John of Patmos as prophet of the Eschaton mark his religion as millenarian. What is significant is that he did not foretell a final war, but proclaimed the advent of a golden age when Canaan would belong once again to the indigenous people. His millenarianism conforms more to the Melanesian myths of the return of a savior,[45] than it does to the Jewish myth of Armageddon.

The angel of God, Gabriel Rura, directed Te Ua to set up a mast of a wrecked European ship – called a *niu* pole – and to instruct worshipers to march[46] around it singing prayers to the Holy Trinity and calling down the divine winds – *hau* [47] – that would bring them sacred knowledge[48] and the power to resist bullets. In his gospel, Te Ua had admonished 'every minister living in the island' to 'go back to the other side of the sea in Goodness and Peace', for God would restore the land to the Maori.[49]

In 1864 Te Ua commissioned apostles to spread his gospel and *niu* rite to other North Island tribes. In keeping with Rapoport's thesis, the Pai Marire period of active proselytization between 1864 and 1867 escalated the divisive violence of the land wars. The uneasy truce with the government broke when Pai Marire disciples advanced on British garrisons, holding up their hands in the sacred gesture to ward off bullets. The new movement struck terror in the hearts of Europeans after Pai Marire warriors ambushed a band of soldiers and took their heads as trophies. Te Ua regarded the heads as mediums for Gabriel Rura, and sent them with two apostles to the East Coast where they 'testified' that Gabriel Rura was coming with a sword to cleanse the North Island of the Europeans.[50]

Millennial fervor reached a fever pitch in the East at Tauranga, where local prophets predicted that the day of salvation would arrive on 26 December 1864. The faithful remnant fled to a refuge in the mountains, expecting that those who did not join them would fall down and die and that the Europeans who did not go away in ships would be destroyed.[51] Even after the prediction failed and they had returned to their homes, 'the new creed had been adopted by many and the millennial emphasis was still strong'.[52]

Significantly, up to February 1865, no sectarian had attempted to wield Gabriel's sword. The faithful suspended their ordinary activities, gathered together at specified sites, and awaited God's intervention. However, the government was alarmed by the rapid spread of a strange rite that taught that the missionaries were false prophets, burned books,[53] and hearkened only to new priests, who prophesied the return of the land. Troops preemptively arrested the Tauranga prophets and imprisoned them.

A month later Te Ua's apostle, Kereopa, convinced a neighboring tribe[54] that their missionary, the Reverend Carl Volkner, was a government spy.[55] He was taken hostage and hanged in March 1865, and, in a fearsome act of

revenge, Kereopa swallowed his eyes. According to Lyndsay Head, 'This was the single event which defined the character of Te Ua and his faith for 100 years'.[56] Volkner's murder terrorized the European populace and polarized the Maori tribes. The Maori King renounced Pai Marire. Still, by the end of 1865 there was a *niu* pole in every large village, and Maori Christian congregations were decimated by wholesale conversions to the new religion. Civil war broke out between Maori factions on the East Coast, and the government enlisted loyal tribes in the militia it sent to suppress the movement.

According to the Anglican prelate, Bishop George Selwyn, the war was renewed and the 'bitterness of the strife' escalated after Kereopa's terrible act hardened the government's response to the Hauhau 'fanaticism'.[57] One far-reaching consequence of civil war in the East Coast district of Poverty Bay was the curtailment of the civil rights of suspects, which led to the imprisonment of an innocent loyalist, Te Kooti, who was shipped off to the desolate Chatham Islands with 300 Hauhau prisoners. After serving part of an indeterminate sentence, he became deathly ill and experienced a series of visions recorded in a notebook that was later recovered by the government.[58] Jehovah's angel called Te Kooti to deliver his people from their bondage, just as Yahweh had commanded Moses to lead his captive people back to the Promised Land.

Under Te Kooti's leadership, the prisoners overpowered the garrison, seized a ship, and sailed back to the mainland, where they celebrated their 'Passover' feast on the beach. The new prophet christened his people the 'righteous remnant' and prophesied that Jehovah would defeat 'Pharaoh' and return them to their land.[59] The prisoners' escape panicked Europeans and loyalists, but Te Kooti insisted that he wanted only to lead his people into the sanctuary of the Maori King.[60]

The militia attacked Te Kooti's band three times before he turned and fell upon the hamlet of Matawhero on 10 November 1868, killing nearly all inhabitants. Outraged members of Parliament compared his raid to the Sepoy rebellion in India and put a bounty on his head. In retaliation the militia routed his guerrillas in the mountains and executed all prisoners, although Te Kooti escaped. He was pardoned by the government in 1883 and died ten years later, having gained a reputation for miracles among his followers.

During the last 20 years of his life, Te Kooti devoted himself to peace and to establishing his Ringatu church,[61] gaining renown as a healer and a builder of sacred meeting houses. After 12 years of wars over possession of the land, the Maori were impoverished. Ringatu tradition invested their traumas with meaning by redacting their experiences in a new mythology of deliverance that combined elements of Maori religion and the Old

Testament.[62] Te Kooti exhibited the genius of Maui the trickster by his lightning raids and miraculous escapes, and he bridged the gap between the old religion and the new movements by tracing the descent of the Maori from the Israelites. In 1929 the Ringatu Church was 'registered' by the New Zealand government as a Maori Christian institution.[63]

Before his death Te Kooti prophesied that a 'star', would rise in the east within 26 years to inaugurate a time of peace. In 1905 a contract laborer, Rua Kenana, claimed to be the Maori messiah after he was baptized into the Ringatu faith by a disciple of Te Kooti. Shortly afterward, Rua predicted that King Edward VII would arrive at Gisborne on 24 June 1906, to deliver a great treasure to the East Coast tribes, after which most Europeans would be expelled from the land. Eighty-two chiefs accompanied him to Gisborne, but after the date for the Maori millennium had passed without incident, Rua adjusted his prophecy and declared himself to be the messianic king.[64] In keeping with the theory of cognitive dissonance, the faith of Rua's followers intensified, and he convinced nearly all of the local tribe to abandon their homes and migrate to the ancestral sacred mountain where the treasure awaited them.

Rua was a pragmatic visionary,[65] and he worked to shelter his people's lands from government alienation. Accordingly, like Solomon he married multiple wives whose inherited lands he consolidated, while he acted as lawgiver and judge over the Iharaira, or 'Israelites' and their Holy Spirit movement. At their remote settlement of New Jerusalem, his people let their hair grow in Nazarite fashion, and they enacted the advent of the millennium with Rua as governor and judge.[66]

The liberal government tolerated Rua's *de facto* control over the land until a Sunday morning in 1916, when three patrols of police converged on New Jerusalem in a misbegotten attempt to arrest him for selling liquor.[67] When they laid hands on the messiah, shots erupted, and after they ceased, Rua's son and one follower lay dead, and four policemen were wounded. Constables guarded the women and children while the police marched off with Rua and some of his disciples. During his trial the press ridiculed Rua as a simpleton and defamed him as a polygamist. After the jury had exonerated him on all but one minor charge, the judge nevertheless sentenced him to two and a half years in prison.[68] The government had sought since 1908 the opportunity to abolish his prestige and authority and to reduce him in Maori eyes to the status of a slave.[69] The only violence that occurred in the Holy Spirit movement was perpetrated by the clumsy raid of the civil authorities.

Rua predicted the the millennium in 1906 and again in 1927; it was heralded both times by the appearance of a comet.[70] Before his death he foretold his resurrection, and mourners gathered for three days around his

crypt. After he failed to rise from the dead, his Second Coming was postponed to an indeterminate time.

Although each of the Pai Marire movements ultimately failed to regain 'Canaan', by the time of Rua's death in 1937 the Maori renaissance movement[71] had revived the building of sacred meeting houses, structures which are understood to stand for the lost land, throughout the North Island. Continuities between Pai Marire and the Maori renaissance include the symbolism of the sacred pole, the florescence of the meeting house as a ceremonial center, and the vision of a people united on their own land. Each of these elements signifies the expectation of a new Maori world recast in terms of political independence within a bi-racial society.

To account for the rise of the renaissance, Ranginui Walker invoked Paolo Freire's axiom that 'knowledge of the alienating culture leads to transforming action resulting in a culture that is being freed from alienation'.[72] Such tactics as the formation of politically-active interest groups, influence over changes in educational curricula, the use of popular media for disseminating a message, and mass demonstrations have their specific antecedents in nineteenth-century religious movements, as well as in European culture.

In 1968 urban activists revived King Tawhiao's nationalist newspaper, *Te Hokioi*, which as far back as the 1860s had urged the Europeans to 'cease annoying us.... Withdraw your hand from purchasing land.... Let the Queen's power return to England; the power of God and the power of the King shall remain here.'[73] In like manner activists[74] of the Maori renaissance organized demonstrations and passive resistance campaigns, which compelled Parliament in 1975 to create a special Waitangi Tribunal to address longstanding Maori grievances concerning the loss of the land.

The ephemeral Matakite movement[75] organized a Land March in 1975 that politicized the Maori across the length of the North Island. Matakite leaders carried before them a pole and standard, symbols that had signified power over the land in Te Ua's *niu* rite and the ancient Maori religion.[76] The persistence of sacred words and religious symbols in ostensibly secular movements supports the conclusion that the most enduring expressions of salvation and liberation are religious ones and that the Pai Marire tradition has invested the Maori renaissance with its framework of meaning.

A Consideration of Terrorism in Pai Marire

Apocalyptic myth is the symbolic language of world destruction and world re-creation. Examination of the particular mythology of a given movement may enable us to anticipate its behavior, since the disciples usually view themselves as an elect group that possesses the true knowledge of God's

plan. God speaks to the community through charismatic leaders; his revelation supersedes the mundane laws of civil authorities. The extralegal assumption of ultimate authority by a millenarian movement usually elicits the opposition of established civil authorities to its very existence. Its myth constitutes a claim to truth that the larger society routinely views as bizarre and seditious and, consequently, refuses to tolerate.[77]

In extreme cases, the sacred community perceives itself as the hand of God, and it may violate that which is held sacred by society. The Essenes[78] of late antiquity profaned the allegedly false Sabbath of the Jerusalem temple cult, in order to bear witness to a true Sabbath based upon a more ancient liturgical calendar. They denounced the priesthood for polluting the temple and drew up a blueprint for a purified center of worship. At Qumran they composed sectarian rules for the community and waited for two messiahs – king and priest – who would lead a great war against the children of darkness, defined as those who were not Essenes. Although, like John of Patmos, they redacted a graphically violent mythology of the Endtime,[79] there is no evidence that the Essenes actively engaged in violence[80] until after Khirbet Qumran was burned by the Roman army in the Jewish War of 66–70 CE.[81]

On the other hand, their contemporaries, the Sicarii terrorists, were fierce antinomians who conducted assassinations at sacred places at sacred times in violation of the rules of war that obtained even in that brutal era.[82] Rapoport has defined terror as extralegal violence which deliberately seeks to paralyze a population with fear, to attract attention and support, to exacerbate existing tensions, and to compromise the status of neutral parties by engaging in atrocities and sacrilege.[83] Terror can be a tool employed to hasten the destruction of the old world. We know virtually nothing about the mythology of the Sicarii. Did their terrorism relate to the imminent expectation of a messiah or simply to their conception of themselves as agents of destruction? The first century CE was replete with independent movements that were variably actuated by a prevailing expectation that the Messiah would judge and purify the world.[84]

What we do know about Essenes and Sicarii suggests that belief in an imminent apocalypse is not sufficient cause for acts of violence or terrorism, and the Pai Marire data supports this observation. The expectation that Gabriel Rura would destroy the Europeans and non-sectarian Maori in December 1864 motivated Pai Marire disciples to retreat to a holy place and await deliverance, but not to hasten the consummation of God's plan. On 18 June 1869 the acting Minister of Maori affairs charged that Te Kooti had planned the Matawhero raid even before he escaped from prison, quoting as proof a prophecy from his notebook that those who had oppressed the Maori would themselves likewise be oppressed.[85] However,

after he recorded the prophecy and before the Matawhero raid, Te Kooti had pledged peace on condition that he not be pursued; he turned on his enemies only after they attacked him.

Te Kooti was militant, but he did not engage in terrorism, despite the prevailing opinion in his day that he was a savage and a cannibal.[86] He acted out of righteous anger for having been imprisoned by his enemies *in order that* they could confiscate his land.[87] Shocking as his retribution was, it was an act of war to redress a grievance in ancient Maori fashion.

Kereopa was a rogue apostle who committed an idiosyncratic act of terror. His possible motives include: personal revenge (members of his family were reported to have been killed at the site of a British atrocity);[88] his judgment that Volkner was a government spy;[89] and a revenge hostage-taking for the capture and imprisonment of the Tauranga prophets a month earlier.[90] Not only did his co-apostle, Patara, denounce his action, but, in response to his brutality, King Tawhiao and entire tribes renounced Pai Marire. The underlying reason for Kereopa's atrocity was Te Ua's devolution of authority upon his commissioned apostles, who received their own authoritative revelations from the gods of the *niu* pole. The new faith spread over the North Island like a 'fire in dry fern',[91] and new prophets rose up wherever the ritual was introduced. Depending upon the interpretation of these local prophets, the conceptualization of 'Gabriel's sword' differed from place to place.[92] Given the democratization of sacred power in Pai Marire, it is remarkable that there were so few deliberate acts of violence.

Why Did Some Pai Marire Movements Alternate Between Peace and Violence?

How can we account for Te Kooti's paradoxical turn from war to peace? The answers must lie in the particular details of his movement and its leader.

Te Kooti was called by Jehovah to be like Moses, but his methods were those of Maori heroes: utilizing the ancient tactic of a 'male peace',[93] he invited his enemies to a feast and slaughtered them.[94] The key to Te Kooti's behavior lies in the Maori tradition of heroes who utilized their cunning to outwit more powerful enemies. Although Te Kooti lost almost all of his battles, he was revered for having miraculously eluded his enemies in keeping with the tricksters of Maori myth. Had the Europeans grasped that he was as much Maui as Moses, they might have been less likely to underestimate his ability to light the tinder on the volatile East Coast and reignite the land wars for four more years. Had the government allowed Te Kooti to march unhindered to the King country, it is likely that any conflict that ensued would have been between the two dissidents, King Tawhiao and the Maori Moses.

The Ringatu movement illustrates how millenarianism can oscillate between peaceful and violent behavior. When he was most vulnerable to the militia and rejected by the King, Te Kooti was most dangerous and unpredictable. Once the King granted him refuge, he turned to building a church and unifying his people under the umbrella of a mythology that prophesied that they would suffer greatly until a messiah returned them to their lands.

A prophet called by God exhibits little restraint in the face of overwhelming odds, because his god has promised to deliver him, and one cannot expect him (or her) to behave as if he (or she) possessed only conventional firepower; a prophet-led community can tolerate a casualty rate far higher than civil authorities anticipate. When Te Kooti arrived at his sanctuary, only seven of his followers remained out of an original exodus of 300.

After the wars the Ringatu movement conceptualized its historical experience as paradigmatic eras in the salvation history of the Israelites. The war against Te Kooti was rendered as the 'wandering through the desert wilderness', which was followed by 'the settlement in Canaan', that is, the King country.[95] The invention of a sectarian myth-history was one of the great achievements of the Pai Marire tradition, because it transmitted to posterity one coherent, unifying narrative that sacralized their struggle to regain Canaan and promised a better time to come.[96] Te Kooti's crossing into safe haven marked the end of violence and the postponement of liberation. The return of the land, according to Te Kooti's last prophetic utterances would be delayed until the rise of a messiah within a quarter century.[97]

The Pai Marire prophets did not preach Armageddon. They syncretized austral Pacific myths of the return of a savior who inaugurates a golden age with the Christian myth of the reign of God on earth at the Endtime. Because their ancient religion celebrated the numinous bond between the people and the land, they sought to achieve salvation in Maori terms by healing that broken bond.[98] The fierce judgement and punishment of the evil forces of the world, the allegorical beasts of Revelation, the opening of the Seven Seals and the release of terrible catastrophes, did not figure in Pai Marire myth. The British, who were acquainted with *Christian* apocalyptic myth, believed that the Hauhau intended to drive them into the sea,[99] but by taking a hard line against the new faith – waging preemptive campaigns, suspending civil rights, executing prisoners, confiscating more land, and announcing bounties – they escalated the violence.

Too often society will regard a given movement's mythology as an actual war plan, when it is a *symbolic* expression of God's plan for the Eschaton. Not all religious millenarians espouse the same vision of the Endtime. God (or the devil) is in the details of their mythology, which

should be closely read in its historical context in a conscientious attempt to assess its potential for inducing aggression before preemptive action is taken by government, else – as at Waco and Jonestown – civil police may unwittingly play out the role of God's enemies and elicit a violent response from a community that views itself as allied to God against Satan. Achieving the millennium is first and foremost a celestial event; even when it is imminent, sectarians may choose to withdraw from the world and await the outcome of a transcendent struggle. However, like a coiled snake, an elect community may also meet what it interprets as aggressive behavior with a violent defense.

In sum, a millennial movement does not respond to threat or force in conventional terms, but acts according to its own revelation concerning God's plan. When it is attacked, it may resist to the last person. When it is least vulnerable, it may perceive a delay of God's judgment and pour its energies and expectations into peaceful religious creations.

Messianic Paradigms and the Enactment of Apocalyptic: Rua Kenana and David Koresh

Although much has been recorded about millenarian movements and violence, a great deal of data has been lost. In the religious conflicts between orthodoxy and heresy in the Western tradition, the documents of heretics have usually been destroyed. Thus, we have lost a great deal of information that would enable us to assess whether or not the alleged behavior of heretics actually occurred and to what extent it occurred.

Communities may interpret the same symbol quite differently. One Christian text, 'Behold the bridegroom comes; let us go out to meet him',[100] inspired the alleged 'free love' of the medieval heretic, Bloemardinne; the sublime mystical text of Blessed Jan van Ruysbroek of the thirteenth-century Brethren of the Common Life; and the terrorism of the fifteenth century Adamites.[101]

How can we more accurately assess under what conditions a millenarian movement intends violence, enacts violence, or elicits violence from civil authorities?

To intend violence is to believe that the desired event – 'an imminent and total transformation' – will take place only if the elect bring it about through a deliberate strategy. The strategy constitutes the group's reason for being, and the predominance of human agency in hastening the Endtime minimizes its reliance upon divine intervention.

Movements which enact violence include those whose mythology reveals that the elect will play some role in the final struggle of the forces of God against the forces of evil when the appointed time arrives. The

synoptic Gospels contain 'little apocalypses' that envisioned catastrophe and the suffering of the innocent. Jesus' disciples were explicitly told not to take up the sword,[102] but to await the justice of God. They were assigned a passive role in the enactment of a violent myth.[103]

A millenarian movement will elicit violence by separating itself from society and instituting its own theocracy. It incites charges of sedition if it proclaims allegiance to a higher law. In 1953 Mormon fundamentalists were raided by police in Short Creek, Arizona for practicing polygamy.[104] The Maori messiah, Rua Kenana, was forcibly arrested for breaking liquor laws in New Zealand. The Mt. Carmel community of schismatic Adventists provoked a lethal siege after agents of the Department of Justice executed a 'dynamic entry' into their complex.[105] Charges that a group has broken statutes against, for example, selling liquor, practicing polygamy, abusing children, or storing firearms is often a pretext for challenging and eradicating the authority of the prophet, whose establishment of a counter-society stands in intolerable opposition to the authority of the state. Whatever role God's revelation assigns to the elect in the Endtime influences how the movement will respond to confrontation.

Myth and history coincide in messianism. The messiah teaches his community that they are living in the Endtime. Depending upon the messiah's encounter with God, he may enact the role of millennial prophet, as did Te Ua; of the 'suffering servant', as did Jesus; of Moses,[106] as did Te Kooti; of the avenging Christ, as did the medieval Taborites;[107] or of the apocalyptic Lamb, as did David Koresh.

The more recent and complete our data on a given movement, the more carefully we are able to examine the content of its mythology and to confirm or invalidate any hypothesis about whether it intended, enacted, or elicited violent sequelae. The Pai Marire prophets of nineteenth-century New Zealand preached a gospel of peace, converted Maori Christians, anointed a Maori King, provoked civil war, engaged in acts of retribution, redacted a salvation history, created a new church, predicted a Maori messiah, and, in short, exhibited a full range of possible behaviors.

The messianic phase of Pai Marire was inaugurated by Rua Kenana in a time of European domination. The concentration of sacred authority in the hands of a messiah creates the potential for the violent enactment of myth, and even for terrorism.[108] However, it also maximizes our ability to anticipate the community's behavior, since there is only one interpretation of events – the messiah's, instead of the many interpretations that arise in the context of a devolution of that sacred authority upon many leaders.

Because a messiah enacts an archetype, we can begin to assess a group's potential for violence by examining that archetype and comparing it with other messianic paradigms. Rapoport has related two distinct images of the

Messiah in Christianity, the 'suffering servant' and the 'Christ with a sword', to the alternating currents of pacifism and terror in various Christian movements.[109] Rua Kenana, the Ringatu messiah, was called by the Holy Spirit as a Maori 'brother of Christ' to save the land from expropriation,[110] and this persona does not coincide with either servant or sword paradigm. Rua's specific mission was to guard the treasure of his own people, which was symbolized as a precious diamond that Te Kooti had hidden on the summit of the sacred mountain.[111] One must seek the details of his millenarianism in austral Pacific religions, in addition to the Bible.

The Maori had formerly celebrated two great annual feasts: one was associated with the reburial of the bones of illustrious ancestors in certain sacred caves. During the colonial era these rituals fell into desuetude. Rua Kenana may have revived the reburial feast in 1915, when the bones of certain ancestors were re-interred in sacred caves.[112] The relationship of re-interment rituals to a myth of resurrection is evident in Melanesian religion, wherein the return of an ancestor-god signals the birth of a new world characterized by wealth, abundance, pleasure, and peace.[113] When we examine Rua's symbolism, strategies, and behavior in the light of Maori religion, his New Jerusalem appears to have been modeled, in part, after an austral Pacific golden age.[114]

However, to the Europeans the title 'messiah' evoked a vision of one who rules over a kingdom of the elect after a violent struggle against the Antichrist. They were concerned that the initial support given Rua by all the chiefs of his people signaled another active phase of Maori nationalism, which they had fought a series of wars to put down. Between 1908 and 1915 the government looked for opportunities to vitiate Rua's authority by charging him with violation of specific laws.[115] When Rua refused to appear in court, he was charged with contempt and forcibly arrested.

It is instructive to compare the attack on Rua's New Jerusalem with the 1993 raid on the Mt Carmel community of David Koresh, the self-proclaimed messiah of a schismatic Adventist sect, the Branch Davidians. Both Rua and Koresh interpreted apocalyptic myth, exercised theocratic control over a community of disciples, and enacted a messianic paradigm in highly elaborate symbolic terms. Both believed that the millennium would occur in their generation. Both practiced polygamy as a messianic dispensation. Each leader had split off from religions that had originated as active millennial movements. Koresh and Kenana celebrated Jewish Sabbaths and Passover feasts, and their god was Yahweh/Jehovah of the Israelites.

The most significant parallel between the two were their concepts of sacred time and sacred space: the Branch Davidians and the Iharaira behaved as if the advent had arrived; they were living in sacred time and

each event had a hidden significance which only the prophet/messiah could correctly interpret. They enacted a realized eschatology, a mystery whose meaning the profane world could not discern. The creation of a world is a ritualized endeavor that occurs in sacred time. The separation of the messianic community from the profane world is expressed by the construction of boundaries, walls, and thresholds that separate the elect from the pollution of the outside world. To cross a sacred threshold is to invite disaster in Maori religion, and, correspondingly, the profanation of sacred space violated God's law in the Jerusalem temple cult. Both trespasses constitute the most serious acts of desecration. The name 'Mt. Carmel' signified the Davidians' locus in the space and time of Armageddon – on the very mountain where the armies of God will await the final war on the plain of Megiddo below. Likewise the 'New Jerusalem' of Rua signified the holy city of God depicted in *Revelation* 21:2.

Koresh taught that in March 1993, the world had entered the time that preceded the opening of the sixth seal of *Revelation* 6.[116] In 1985, after an 'encounter'[117] with God in Israel, he took the name of two antecedent messiahs, King David, and Cyrus, the Persian monarch who liberated the Jews from Babylon.[118] It is evident from Koresh's statements during the FBI siege of Mt Carmel that he had adopted neither the 'suffering servant' nor the 'Christ with a sword' paradigm of previous Christian millennialists, but that he regarded himself to be the eschatological 'Lamb', the only one who could open the Seven Seals in the present era and explain their hidden meaning to the world.[119] Although the Lamb releases the catastrophes of the Eschaton, he is a sacrificial symbol, and Koresh repeatedly alluded to scriptures that prefigured the Lamb's rejection and mistreatment by the established powers of the world. Expecting to be reviled, but compelled to propound God's mystery of the Seven Seals, Koresh accumulated weapons, stockpiled food,[120] and instructed his community that they were living in the time of apocalypse.

Rua Kenana did not predict a war, nor did Maori religion teach martyrdom – the act of testifying to God's revealed truth and risking punishment in order to save the righteous – as did Koresh. Rua did predict that his parliament[121] would replace the European one in Wellington; that the messiah would save his tribal territory, and that the people's impoverishment would yield to independence and abundance. Rua set about accomplishing these salvific objectives by acting as the sovereign broker of land sales and challenging the committees that were legislated by Parliament to administer land transactions. He established a hygienic, structured, religious, agricultural commune that assembled the combined resources and efforts of the communards in a focused endeavor to raise their standard of living. He enacted the archetype of King Solomon,[122]

the wise and wealthy ancestor not unlike the austral Pacific savior types.

Despite significant differences in their enactments of millenarian myths, Rua and Koresh elicited a similar response from their respective governments. Their symbolic words and acts were reported to be incoherent, rambling, and bizarre. Both communities endured surprise attacks by police who were attempting to serve court-ordered warrants on their leaders. Shots rang out in both places after the leader was threatened. Casualties on both sides ensued.[123] Both confrontations were followed by publicized court trials in which the juries acquitted the defendants on most counts. Evidence that Koresh might have violated federal firearms laws was destroyed in the fire that engulfed Mt Carmel. Court transcripts of Rua's trial were destroyed in 1949 and the only copies that remain are sequestered in private hands.[124] In retrospect it is difficult adequately to assess whether or not the Branch Davidians had planned to initiate violence with their stockpiled weapons or to prove that they committed mass suicide[125] rather than surrender. It is clear that Rua's community never intended violence, and that his millenarianism did not include the Christian apocalyptic vision of world destruction.

Christian millennial mythology features catastrophes, which a messianic 'Christ with a sword' or 'avenging angel' may decide to hasten, but neither Rua nor Koresh enacted this archetype, and the data on both movements do not, as yet, indicate that they counseled their followers to wage a final war against the unrighteous. Koresh's well-armed community met a 'dynamic entry' by government agents with a lethal response. A few of Rua's disciples fired on the police with only a few rusty weapons. It was unlikely that – absent provocation – either group would have initiated violence, but both defended the inviolability of their messianic leaders against the worldly powers.

Rapoport has observed that, 'Once a messianic advent appears imminent, preexisting paradigms guide the expectations, and, therefore, the actions of believers ...'.[126] It is true that any belief that the world is about to be destroyed may favor the decision of the leader(s) to implement violence or even terror. However, it is essential to understand the 'preexisting paradigms' which are available to them and to take note of which ones the messiah enacts after his encounter with God. Rua and Koresh chose sovereign, but non-threatening archetypes – Solomon, David, Cyrus, the eschatological Lamb, the 'brother of Christ'. Knowledge of their mythology would have enabled the civil authorities to assess more accurately the degree to which assumption of theocratic authority over a separated community actually endangered civil society. As Rapoport has observed, most messianic movements do not produce terror, nor have they engaged in terror.[127]

In the final analysis the confrontation between government agents and apostate communities centers upon the principle of ultimate authority. The implicit or explicit antinomianism of a millenarian movement – whether it withdraws from society to a sacred center or whether it engages in overt violence against a society it repudiates – is somehow related to the act of creating a new world in place of one which is no longer supportable. In order for millenarian movements to arise, people must embrace as an ultimate truth their conviction that the world is too worn down to be repaired. Such an extreme condition mimics the cosmic chaos that preceded the establishment of laws and boundaries at the time of creation. A prophet will arise in a time of despair to reveal new boundaries and laws to govern the new world that will replace the old.

Theories which attempt to account only for the violent aspect of millenarianism have tended to focus chiefly upon the world destruction that ushers in the Christian millennium. A comprehensive theory of millenarian phenomena should also focus upon non-biblical mythologies of liberation, the historical conditions which affect the apocalyptic community, and the prophet's enactment of particular archetypes from his community's[128] millenarian traditions.

Summary

Each of the four movements briefly considered above demonstrates a different aspect of the peace/violence continuum posited for the behavior of millenarian movements. King Tawhaio disavowed Pai Marire and instituted his peaceful creed, Tariao, after Te Ua had lost control over his apostles. Te Ua's gospel called for peace, but its promise that God would return the land to the Maori caught fire with the dispossessed. As Pai Marire spread, it frightened European settlers and their preemptive action against millennialism in Tauranga may have encouraged Kereopa to execute Carl Volkner. Active proselytizing by Te Ua's apostles provoked civil war on the East Coast, and both Maori and European combatants escalated the level of violence. The suspension of civil rights for accused members of the sect resulted in the unjust confinement of Te Kooti and the rise of the Ringatu movement.

From the study of the Pai Marire tradition in its historical context we may draw some provisional conclusions. Whether or not a millenarian movement behaves violently depends upon a variety of factors: (1) the devolution of sacred authority among spirit-filled disciples or the retention of that authority by one leader; (2) the degree to which a prophet/messiah emphasizes the world destruction aspect of apocalyptic myth and de-emphasizes world re-creation; (3) the leader's enactment of militant or non-

violent archetypes; (4) his or her interpretation of God's revelation and of the signs of the Endtime; (5) the extension of civil rights to dissidents even in time of civil conflict;[129] and (6) the reaction of civil authorities to theocratic communities. Each one of these conclusions has been derived from specific instances discussed above.

Although most millenarian groups do not resort to violence without provocation, a proselytizing phase may polarize society and provoke civil conflict, or, alternatively, elicit punitive measures that escalate the 'bitterness of the strife'. We should also take note that British missionaries provoked conflict among indigenous people on several continents during the nineteenth century. Nation-states and orthodox religions who enact the latent myth of the Christian millennium may do violence to a great number of 'heathen' and 'heretics'.

We may be able to predict[130] the potential for violence if we develop a heuristic theory of millenarianism that takes into account the religious symbolism that provides the community with its framework of meaning. We should seek to understand the movement in its historical context, and to examine the specific details of its mythology and messianic paradigms. Prophets and messiahs are charismatics who creatively assume the roles of antecedent 'culture heroes' from their own religious traditions.[131] The prophet will often speak of himself or herself paradigmatically as John of Patmos, Moses, the Lamb of God, or a 'brother of Christ'. He or she may enact the mythic role of a revered ancestor, patriarch, or messiah. A prophet is a mouthpiece for God at a time of crisis and despair, and, as such, he or she proclaims the salvation of the elect and a cosmic reversal of intolerable circumstances.

A millennial tradition tends to alternate between activism and quietism. Active phases may feature proselytization and/or secular strategies to repair a broken world; they may provoke or exacerbate schism and polarization within and between peoples. Peaceful phases may feature strategies of passive resistance, the migration to a sacred center, separatism, the creation of a social microcosm of the millennium, the promulgation of new laws, or the elaboration of myth to account for a delay in the fulfillment of God's plan. All of these phenomena characterize the many manifestations of Pai Marire between 1862 and the current Maori renaissance movement.

The cross-cultural and trans-historical comparison of millenarian traditions is essential in order to validate and refine a heuristic theory of such phenomena and of their propensity to induce violence or terror, which could pose a serious threat to civil order or to their own communities. A more thorough understanding of millenarianism will enable us to assess more accurately the behavior of specific groups and to mitigate the possibility of violent outcomes.

NOTES

1. Millenarianism has appeared throughout history and in nearly all places, but its specific expression varies from place to place and instance to instance. It is a class of phenomena. Millennialism, strictly speaking, refers to the Jewish-Christian expectation of a thousand-year-reign of Christ/God on earth after the final catastrophes and a war between the saints and the evil powers. Apocalyptic refers to the mythology of the Eschaton, or final days, which is hidden and secret until it is revealed to a prophet by God. Messianic movements are those which are led by and/or expect the imminent arrival of a savior who will inaugurate a time of dramatic reversals and of peace and plenitude – in Judaism and Christianity, the millennium.
2. Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1974), p.2.
3. For an analysis of Marxism as an atheistic expression of Jewish-Christian millennialism cf. Karl Lowith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago, IL: Chicago UP, 1949), pp.33–51.
4. In Indo-Pacific as well as Near Eastern religions the New World is often depicted as a place where the mountains are brought low and the plains are raised up.
5. *Revelation* 21:1, 'Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away.' Although this phrase is often substituted for the thousand-year reign of Christ (cf. *Revelation* 20: 4–6), it actually refers to a second and eternal kingdom of God after the Eschaton. In millennial mythologies the two reigns may be conflated.
6. The library of literature on the Pauline epistles, the earliest written texts of the Christian canon, demonstrates that the establishment of an orthodox *nomos* was the outcome of much controversy over how *eleutheria*, 'freedom', should be expressed. Cf. e.g., Robert Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1980). With respect to Asian and austral Pacific religions, cf. Kees W. Bolle, *The Freedom of Man in Myth* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt UP, 1968) and Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or, Cosmos and History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1954).
7. E.g., Vittorio Lanternari observed that, 'The messianic movements of Polynesia have many mythical elements in common with cults flourishing in Melanesia, such as the end of the world and its regeneration, and the resurrection of the dead...'. *Religions of the Oppressed* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1963), p.259.
8. For a provocative thesis concerning Prometheus vs. Satan paradigms and their influence upon the behavior of millenarian groups, cf. Vytautas Kavolis, 'Models of Rebellion', in *The Morality of Terrorism*, David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander (eds) (NY: Pergamon, 1982), pp.43–61.
9. Michael Adas' fine cross-cultural study, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987) examines the short history of Te Ua's' movement from its origin as a gospel of peace to its more violent manifestations as an instrument of rebellion against British settlement. Kenelm Burridge's well-known study of millenarianism, *New Heaven, New Earth* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969) includes the Pai Marire movement. The most complete study of Pai Marire is Paul Clark's *'Hauhau': the Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1975), which revised the prevailing view that Te Ua promulgated hatred of the foreigner and bizarre, violent acts. I developed the argument that Pai Marire is a tradition, not just one brief protest in the 1860s, from my historical analysis of the data.
10. Bronwyn Elsmore's comprehensive treatment, *Mana from Heaven* (Tauranga: Moana Press, 1990) explores the influence of the Bible on all of the recorded Maori prophet movements. F. Allan Hanson has treated some Maori influences on Rua Kenana's Holy Spirit movement in 'Christian Branches, Maori Roots: the Cult of Rua', *History of Religions* 30 (Nov. 1990), pp.154–78.
11. David C. Rapoport, 'Messianic Sanctions for Terror', *Comparative Politics* 20/2 (Jan. 1988), pp.195–213.
12. One movement, Ringatu, became a legally constituted Christian church. Other offshoots of Pai Marire evolved into the political and cultural Maori renaissance of the twentieth century.
13. The King was set up in 1858 before Te Ua experienced his first revelations in 1862, but in

1864 Te Ua anointed the second Maori King, who broke with Pai Marire in 1866 after a specific atrocity occurred. The King subsequently instituted a religion, called Tariao, which was a variation on Te Ua's religion.

14. Tariao, The Parihaka movement, and Te Puea's cultural revival, *inter alia*, represent a pacific branch of the Pai Marire tradition. The guerrilla insurrection of Titokowaru constitutes an exceptional case, in which a disciple discarded Peaceable God for a Maori god of war, Uenuku.
15. Barkun (note 2), pp.1–10.
16. Because in the era of the Nixon presidency, the word 'mainstream' took on the connotation of the partisan construct, 'silent majority', I prefer to use more neutral terms to apply to the larger social, political, and religious context of millenarian groups – e.g., 'orthodox', 'normative', 'established', etc.
17. The New Zealand tradition compares most readily with movements in contemporary Melanesia and Polynesia, such as the Kanak Liberationists in New Caledonia and the Hawaiian sovereigntists. The austral Pacific is the site of many of the world's newest nations and also of serious civil unrest.
18. In Maori a prophet is a *mangai*', 'mouthpiece', for a god, as well as a *matakite*, or 'seer'.
19. I am averse to using this phrase, but it denotes a class of gods, demigods, ancestors, shamans, tricksters, and heroes in Maori myth, all of whom share certain characteristics of personality and behavior.
20. The Jewish and Christian deities include Jehovah, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, and the archangels Gabriel and Michael. The Maori deities were both old, Rupe and Ruru, and new, Rura and Riki.
21. The Maori Sky God, Ranginui, was present at the creation of the world, but he is an inactive *deus otiosus*. Jehovah, on the other hand, is the God of history, who intervenes in human affairs to redeem his chosen people.
22. Because millenarians experience despair, anomie, and chaos as a prodrome to the emergence of a movement, the founder's task is to communicate a framework of meaning – God's plan – for their condition.
23. Textual basis for this right is provided by the founding Treaty of Waitangi, Art. 2, 1840, and by Sect. 71 of the New Zealand Constitution, 1852, according to Maori political leaders.
24. For example, the assassination of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, a Mandela-type leader in New Caledonia, by a disaffected sectarian was a tragedy for the unity of indigenous interests that are striving to end civil violence and to reach a political settlement with France.
25. On 18 Nov. 1978 the People's Temple movement, under the orders of Jim Jones, gunned down a visiting delegation of lawmakers and journalists and committed mass suicide. On 19 April 1993, after an initial gun battle and seven-week siege, the Branch Davidian community was immolated during a final assault by agents of the US Dept of Justice.
26. Rapaport (note 11). Proselytizing movements have an inherent potential for violence because they actively seek confirmation of their respective claims to absolute truth by inviting or even forcing conversions. The history of the rise of Islam and the Catholic Inquisitions testifies to the widespread use of violence and terror to punish apostates and force conversions. In other notable instances, however, such as present-day Mormonism, proselytizing activity is not concomitant with violence.
27. Jean E. Rosenfeld, 'The Island Broken in Two Halves: Sacred Land and Religious Renewal Movements among the Maori of New Zealand' (PhD diss., Univ. Microfilms Inc, 1994), pp.44–5.
28. Rosenfeld (note 27), p.42.
29. Ibid, p.48. Cf. also Elsmore (note 10), pp.30–1, regarding British 'millennial fervour of the period'.
30. The South Island's cold climate was largely inhospitable to the cultivation of their staple food, the sweet potato.
31. Wiremu Tamihana.
32. They raised their hands up in the gesture called *ringa-tu*, which became the defining symbol of the subsequent Ringatu movement.

33. Pai Marire converts became entranced by singing and marching around a tall pole down which the Holy Spirit came in the form of divine winds, entered the worshiper and filled him with power and knowledge.
34. Some of the Pai Marire standards which hung from the *niu* poles were emblazoned with *kenana,* the Maori word for 'Canaan'.
35. The Kingites compared the loss of their land to the seizure of Naboth's vineyard by Ahab and Jezebel. The grievance that the missionaries had taken land for their families and churches while they taught the Maori to look up to heaven was commonplace during the middle decades of the nineteenth century.
36. M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'Land Purchase Methods and Their Effect on Maori Population 1865–1901', *Jnl of the Polynesian Society* 65/3 (1956), pp.183–99.
37. A refrain in *Ua Rongopai*, 'The Gospel of Te Ua', a document dictated by Te Ua in 1862 and 1863; cf. Lyndsay Head, 'The Gospel of Te Ua Haumene', *Jnl of the Polynesian Soc.* 101/3 (Sept. 1992), pp.7–44.
38. Head (note 37), p. 7; cf. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou, 'Struggle without End'* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), pp.186–219, for a summary of the Maori renaissance and sovereignty movement.
39. This messiah would not necessarily be a Maori.
40. The account of the angel's revelations is given in Head's translation of the gospel of Te Ua (note 37), pp.14–29.
41. This deity is almost certainly the apocalyptic angel of *Revelation* 10:1–6; a striking lithograph of the archangel with an upraised hand was circulated in the mid-nineteenth century editions of *Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible.* Gabriel Rura is Te Ua's name for the angel and has been translated 'Gabriel Ruler'.
42. Head (note 37), pp.19–21.
43. 'Ruler' may refer to Gabriel or Christ. Head (note 37), p.34, n.63, states that the Christ of *Revelation* was the Lamb (see discussion of David Koresh below) who 'figured in the early teachings' of Te Ua's prominent disciples.
44. Rapoport (note 10), p.210.
45. Cf. Peter Worsley, *A Trumpet Shall Sound* (NY: Schocken, 1968); Mircea Eliade (note 6); and Mircea Eliade, 'Cargo Cults and Cosmic Regeneration', *Millennial Dreams in Action,* Sylvia Thrupp (ed.) (NY: Schocken, 1970) for information on Melanesian myths of return.
46. The prayers they chanted were composed in an artificial language, which rendered many English words from church liturgies and military orders, such as *teihana*, which has been translated as both 'attention!' and 'trig station', a reference to the land surveyors' practice of desecrating sacred mountains.
47. The Maori word, *hau*, stands for the 'wind', 'breath', and 'spirit' that betokens both the Holy Ghost at Pentecost and the various powers that direct the weather in Maori religion. The pejorative name for Pai Marire, *Hauhau*, derives from their invocation of these powers in rituals and combat.
48. Manifested by speaking in tongues, or glossolalia.
49. Head (note 37), p.17.
50. Evelyn Stokes, *Pai Marire and the Niu at Kuranui* (Hamilton: Waikato Univ., Occas. Paper No. 6, 1980), p.12,
51. Evelyn Stokes, *Te Raupatu o Tauranga* ['Land Confiscation at Tauranga'] (Hamilton: Waikato Univ., Occasional Paper No. 3, Aug. 1978), pp.16–17. It was expected that God's angel would exact this justice, not human beings.
52. Ibid. After the failure of a prophecy, belief often intensifies; cf. Leon Festinger, *et al., When Prophecy Fails* (NY: Harper & Row, 1964).
53. Paul Clark, *'Hauhau' the Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1975), p.94.
54. The Whakatohea people near Opotiki.
55. Several missionaries acted as government informants.
56. Head (note 37), p.11.
57. G. W. Rusden, *History of New Zealand, Vol. II* (Melbourne: Melville, Mullen & Slade, 1895), pp.358–9.

58. This remarkable document has been the subject of much controversy and dispute between Te Kooti's church and the National Library of New Zealand.
59. William Greenwood, *The Upraised Hand* (Wellington: Polynesian Society Memoir No. 21, 1942), p.60; Judith Binney, 'Myth and Explanation in the Ringatu Tradition', *Jnl of the Polynesian Soc.* 93/4 (Dec. 1988), pp.345–93.
60. The King Country at the center of the North Island was protected by an *aukati*, a sacred border guarded by *tapu*; Europeans were forbidden to cross it on pain of death. King Tawhiao refused to shelter Te Kooti until he lost most of his followers four years later.
61. Ringatu has disavowed its origins in Hauhauism.
62. Missionaries began to translate the Bible piecemeal into Maori in 1827 and the Pentateuch was available in print by 1848. The Maori prodigiously memorized both oral and printed texts, and they learned to read with great rapidity.
63. Judith Binney, *Nga Morehu, The Survivors* (Auckland: OUP, 1986), pp.23–24.
64. Judith Binney, Gillian Chapman and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia* (Wellington: OUP, 1979), p.30.
65. Contrary to a widespread misconception, messiah-figures like Rua are neither psychotic nor 'conmen', but individuals who are called by a god, who invests them with their roles in the enactment of an eschatological script.
66. Two excellent studies of Rua's movement are Peter Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium* (Wellington: Victoria UP, 1979) and Binney *et al.* (note 64).
67. Maori were forbidden to sell liquor, but Rua emblazoned his flag with a motto derived from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 'One law for both peoples'. The constabulary attempted to serve a warrant on him for contempt of court.
68. Binney *et al* (note 64), p.126.
69. Rua was a thorn in the side of the Liberal government, whose carefully-crafted land alienation policies he had challenged and partially vitiated.
70. Binney *et al* (note 64), p.158.
71. The renaissance began with the remarkable leadership of Apirana Ngata and Te Puea in the 1920s and blossomed into an activist political movement in the 1970s.
72. Walker (note 38), p.209.
73. Quoted in Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars* (Wellington: New Zealand UP, 1957), p.76.
74. The political activism of the Maori renaissance coincided with the activism of the 1960s and 1970s in other European nations. In 1960 and 1973 the government memorialized the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi as a day of thanksgiving and a public holiday, respectively. In addition, the timing also coincided with the hundred-year anniversaries of many significant religious events in the Pai Marire protest tradition. Such 'anniversary reactions' are not uncommon, but they are largely overlooked. Yet, we know that attention to commemorative dates (holy days?) is an example of the liturgical creativity of millennial movements.
75. See note 17 above.
76. Walker (note 38), pp.213–15.
77. In 1860 the Governor of New Zealand issued a proclamation against 'unlawful combinations' that was specifically aimed at the peaceful, but separatist, King movement. Secular authorities find most intolerable a sect's declarations that they will obey the law of God even when that law contravenes civil law. Gov. Gore Browne and Premier Joseph Ward both declared to the Kingites and Rua Kenana, respectively, that there could not be 'two suns shining in the same sky', i.e. two competing authorities, a Maori king and a civil government.
78. Most scholars regard the Essenes and the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran, the presumed community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as members of the same schismatic Judaic movement.
79. 'The War Scroll', 1QM; 'The Community Rule', 1QS, III–IV (Dead Sea Scrolls).
80. They preached in the outer court of the temple, and an Essene teacher was called to prophesy at Herod the Great's court in the first century BCE; Josephus, *Antiquities* XV. 10.4–5.
81. There is evidence that some Essenes joined the ranks of the Zealots at Masada, but there is no evidence that they initiated aggression.

82. Rapoport (note 11), pp.195, 204, 206.
83. Rapoport, 'Terror and the Messiah: An Ancient Experience and Some Modern Parallels', in *Morality of Terrorism* (note 8), pp.15–16.
84. Cf. Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis, MN: Winston, 1985), which revises the earlier thesis of Martin Hengel in *Victory over Violence* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1973) that the various first-century millennial groups belonged to the Zealot 'school'.
85. 'My wrath against the tribe which has destroyed my tribe is unchangeable; I will destroy them, from the parents unto the children; I will not cease forever'. The 'I' of the prophecy is Jehovah, not Te Kooti, in this translation by the Minister. Speech by J. C. Richmond in New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, Vol. V (Wellington: Govt. Printer, 1 June to 16 July 1869), pp.198–9. One recognizes in this prophecy the millenarian expectation of a reversal of circumstances, in this case, a theodicy.
86. Rosenfeld (note 27), pp.318–41.
87. Ibid., pp.345–50.
88. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol. I*, W. H. Oliver and Claudia Orange (eds) (Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1990), p.503.
89. Volkner gave Gov. Grey information which led to a British atrocity at Rangiaowhia (where Kereopa's relatives reportedly died) during the wars; ibid.
90. Mentioned among the causes advanced by Rev. William Colenso in his apologia for Kereopa, *Fiat Justitia* (Napier: Dinwiddie, Morrison, 1871), p.12.
91. James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars, Vol. II, The Hauhau Wars, 1864–72* (Wellington: Govt. Printer, 1922, repr. 1983), p.3. Cowan, the first historian to chronicle Pai Marire, also compared it to the North American Ghost Dance movement of 1890, p.19.
92. A captured European officer reported that a Taupo tribe expected to participate in a sacred battle that combined elements of Maori warfare, God's intervention, and Joshua's conquest of Canaan. Another chief secured a peace with the army, but became belligerent after the army took aggressive action.
93. A 'male peace' is an agreement among warriors and is often broken by a deception; a 'female peace' is a marriage between a man and a woman of hostile parties and usually is lasting.
94. Shortly after the Matawhero raid he killed selected Maori chiefs; Maria Morris, 'Reminiscences'. MS Papers 2296: 1 folder. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand. Wellington.
95. Cf. Greenwood (note 59), p.66, for the entire series of paradigms and Judith Binney (note 59), 'Myth and Explanation in the Ringatu Tradition', pp.345–93, for the most complete published material on myth and prophecy of Ringatu and the Holy Spirit schismatics.
96. The Pai Marire oral tradition is only one example of the ancient Polynesian redaction of myth-history.
97. Webster (note 66), p.121.
98. The content of what Binney terms the *wairua* ('spirit') tradition was the 'spirit of prophecy which focused particularly on the protection and recovery of Maori lands, and the preservation of themselves as the children of Israel, the chosen people'; *Mihaia* (note 64), p.18.
99. Clark (note 53), p.98.
100. An allegorical text that envisions Christ's Second Coming, or Parousia, in The Gospel According to Matthew, 25:6.
101. Jan van Ruysbroek, *The Spiritual Espousals*, trans. by Eric Colledge (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1953), pp.10–11; Rapoport, (note 11), p.207.
102. The Gospel According to Luke 22:49–51; cf. also Matthew 26:51–54.
103. That Jesus envisioned violence is asserted in Luke 16:16.
104. Martha Bradley, unpub. paper delivered to the Special Topics Forum: 'David Koresh and the Branch Davidians – The Academy, the Government, and Nonconventional Religions', AAR-SBL Annual Meeting, Nov. 1993, Washington, DC.
105. J. Gordon Melton, 'Child Abuse, Suicide, and the Branch Davidians', p.3, a paper presented to the Special Topics Forum, ibid.

106. Te Kooti's biblical models included Joshua, as well as Moses, which helps to explain why at Matawhero he enacted the role of the wrath of God.
107. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (NY: Harper & Row, 1961), pp.225–6.
108. Cf. Rapoport's heuristic theory in 'Messianic Sanctions for Terror' (note 11), passim.
109. Ibid.
110. Webster (note 66), p.158.
111. In Maori, 'treasure' is *taonga*, a word utilized in the Treaty of Waitangi to indicate sacred places and all food-gathering sites, as well as precious artifacts.
112. Among them may have been Te Kooti's remains; cf. Binney *et al.* (note 64), pp.41, 193, n.107.
113. Cf. the myth of Mansren in Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (NY: Schocken, 1968), pp.123–45.
114. Rosenfeld (note 27), pp.393–6, 425–8. The story of King Solomon's wealthy and peaceful reign also bears a resemblance to Melanesian myths of renewal.
115. Practicing as a traditional healer, refusing to pay the dog tax, and selling liquor.
116. Tape of Koresh sermon on 2 March 1993, available from Reunion Institute, Houston, TX.
117. He stated, 'I was instructed by the encounter in regards to the Seven Seals. With this (indecipherable from the tape) that was given to me, I was also given a name that ... would represent my position according to the prophetic writings'; from a taped record of an interview with Station KRLD, Waco, TX (n.d.) during the early part of the BATF-FBI siege.
118. Cyrus the Great of Persia allowed the Jews to return to their ruined city and rebuild its temple, Ezra 1:1–4.
119. *Revelation* 6. In Isaiah 41:2–4, Cyrus is hailed as 'one from the east' who is victorious over the nations. Although Cyrus was not a Jew, he was hailed by the Jews of the time of Isaiah 40–55 as a savior who released them from bondage and sent them to reconstruct Jerusalem. Interestingly, Te Kooti predicted a messiah who would come from the east and who could have been European or Maori, cf. Webster (note 66), p.120.
120. Melton (note 105), p.3.
121. A specific, round structure in New Jerusalem that was decorated with symbols and named 'Zion'.
122. Rosenfeld (note 27), pp.424–8.
123. I use the passive tense deliberately because it indicates the enduring controversy of who did what first to whom.
124. Binney *et al.* (note 64), p.11–12.
125. Near the end of a long radio interview and sounding exhausted, David Koresh stated, 'I'm going home. Going back to my Father ... Like I say, the next thing you'll see according to Matthew 24, is the Son of Man coming in the clouds...', KRLD tape (note 117).
126. Rapoport (note 11), p.210.
127. Ibid., p.196.
128. Rua's community had been Christian before it was Ringatu; his movement was syncretistic.
129. Te Kooti's imprisonment without trial and the indeterminate sentence levied upon his fellow prisoners were the *sine qua non* of the Ringatu religious movement.
130. I do not mean predict with absolute certainty, but with a probability expressed as a percentage, as in the prediction of, e.g., a 70 per cent probability of rain. Statements we make about the outcome of a strategy can be based upon both a history of similar cases and – constructed from that data – a heuristic model of millenarianism, which would of necessity incorporate a taxonomy of various kinds of movements.
131. Foreign borrowings are grafted upon religious traditions and are authentic; few if any religions are 'unadulterated' by syncretism.

Violence and the Environment: The Case of 'Earth First!'

MARTHA F. LEE

The radical environmental movement 'Earth First!' began in 1980. Its adherents predicted an imminent biological meltdown that would cause the destruction of one-half to one-third of the earth's species, and significant areas of habitat. In response, they adopted a doctrine that emphasized both biodiversity and biocentric equality, and determined to protect the environment through both non-violent direct action, and 'monkeywrenching', the destruction of private property. Over time, the movement split into two factions, one that focused on the relationship of environmental issues and social justice; its goal was public education, and it stressed the use of non-violent direct action. The second faction argued that protecting the planet's biodiversity was the most critical goal; it continued to stress that the planet's biodiversity should be protected 'by any means necessary'. Earth First!'s doctrine and evolution illustrate in concentrated form the tendency of all environmental ideologies to incorporate millenarian themes.

One of the most important political developments of the past 20 years has been the general public's increased awareness of environmental issues. The level and scope of this concern has been great, partly because at the most fundamental level, environmental problems highlight the precarious nature of human existence. Life ultimately depends upon the planet's well-being, thus every new threat to the earth is also a threat to the future of humanity.

While mainstream interest groups have addressed environmental problems through traditional political means, it is not surprising that environmental millenarian movements have also emerged; millenarian movements do nothing so well as provide their adherents with certainty in an uncertain world. In the United States, the most active and visible of these movements is 'Earth First!'.

Earth First! began in 1980 as a millenarian movement that advocated both non-violent direct action and the destruction of private property to preserve American wilderness. As a result, the FBI identified the movement as committed to 'criminal acts of terrorism'.[1] During the course of the movement's history, it split into two factions, one that became increasingly apocalyptic, and one that emphasized societal transformation through

education and direct action. This essay argues that Earth First!'s use of dangerous and potentially violent tactics is directly related to its millenarian belief system. As those beliefs evolved, so too did the movement's tactics.

Millenarianism and Violence

Earth First!'s evolution makes two types of eschatological doctrine relevant to this analysis; both millenarian and apocalyptic belief systems are important here. In this analysis, the most critical aspect of these doctrines is their provision of a standard of good that exists prior to political society. It is this element that moves adherents to violent and potentially violent activities.

Both millenarian and apocalyptic doctrines are concerned with an ultimate apocalyptic event that will bring about the end of human history. Millenarian doctrines promise their adherents that this event will deliver them from a world of increasing evil to one of perfection and peace.

In his classic work, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, Norman Cohn characterized millenarian salvation as imminent, ultimate, collective, this worldly, and miraculous.[2] Although Cohn used this framework to analyze religious movements, he suggested that such beliefs could also be found in the political sphere. Indeed, later theorists revised his analysis of millenarian salvation by removing the qualification that it be 'miraculous'. This transformation was appropriate. Many secular political movements (for example, National Socialism and early Marxism) evidenced a millenarian belief structure. In the words of Michael Barkun, real life does not come 'neatly packaged'.[3]

In both religious and political millenarian movements, adherents believe that they possess real knowledge of the order and meaning of history, and therein lies their capacity for violence. If adherents believe they know the true order of the world, they might also assume responsibility for insuring that order comes into being. Earth First! began as one such secular millenarian movement, and after the movement's split, one faction returned to this type of belief structure.

Apocalyptic doctrines differ from millenarian belief systems in that they focus on the imminent eschatological event, and are not concerned with the believers' existence after that point in time. Apocalyptics are primarily interested in their role in the pre-apocalyptic world; they may believe themselves to be responsible for bringing about the appropriate conditions for the apocalypse. Their community of believers has a pivotal role in the culmination of history, but not in a millenarian future. Indeed, apocalyptic doctrines may or may not predict the continued existence of human life after the apocalyptic event. For these reasons, they do not embody the same potential for political mobilization as do millenarian beliefs. Ultimately,

however, they may be more dangerous. Millenarians are concerned for their own lives and for the individuals in their community. Apocalyptics do not share that worry. Their actions are therefore potentially limitless. When Earth First! fragmented, one of its factions adopted an apocalyptic belief system.

The Origins of Earth First!

The construction of Glen Canyon Dam in 1956 was a milestone in the history of the American conservation movement. Until that event, environmental groups had trusted the Bureau of Reclamation not to violate the National Park System.[4] Subsequently, environmental groups changed their tactics. They deliberately expanded their grassroots activities (their combined membership tripled),[5] and they developed a professional lobbying elite to pursue their goals in Washington more effectively.

Eventually, these two trends came into conflict. While the grassroots activists gradually became more militant, the Washington lobbyists, through their tactics of compromise, appeared more moderate. While many grassroots environmental activists supported the lobbyists' work, a large number did not. They believed that in every compromise that was made, valuable wilderness was lost.[6]

Many of those disenchanted activists found a voice in the work of Edward Abbey, whose 1975 novel, *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, recounted the story of four individuals (one woman and three men), who defended American wilderness by unconventional and often illegal tactics. Abbey's book was based on the exploits of a group known as the Eco-Raiders, who in the early 1970s slowed the growth of the Tucson, Arizona suburbs by using a variety of tactics, from burning billboards to 'decommissioning' bulldozers. Before they were caught, they caused over one-half million dollars' damage to private property and thwarted several major development projects. In the process, they became local folk heroes.[7]

Abbey sympathized with the Eco-Raiders and their goals. He dedicated his book to 'Ned *Ludd* or *Lud*', and his introduction included citations of Whitman and Thoreau ('Resist much. Obey little', and 'Now. Or never', respectively), as well as the dictionary definition of sabotage.[8] Abbey's Monkey Wrench Gang (Bonnie Abbzug, Doc Sarvis, Seldom Seen Smith, and George Washington Hayduke) traveled across the American Southwest, pulling survey stakes, destroying heavy machinery, and plotting to halt all development projects that threatened wilderness areas. Their ultimate goal, however, was one shared by many environmentalists. They dreamed of destroying what they felt was the most important symbol of the American conservation movement's compromise with the government: Glen Canyon Dam.

Among the environmentalists who sympathized with that goal was Dave Foreman, who in the late 1970s was the Wilderness Society's chief Washington lobbyist. Like many of his colleagues, Foreman was increasingly uncomfortable with the professionalization of the American environmental movement. In 1979 the Forest Service's Roadless Area Review and Evaluation II (RARE II) was his breaking point. It opened 36 million acres of wilderness to commercial development and set aside 11 million acres to be considered for future expansion. Only 15 million acres were designated as protected wilderness. For Dave Foreman, this diminution of the American wilderness was devastating, and he interpreted it as the inevitable result of the professional lobbyists' compromises with 'the system'.[9] RARE II convinced him that the government was destroying wilderness, not protecting it. As a result, he abandoned Washington and traditional environmentalism, and moved to the American southwest. Abbey's Monkey Wrench gang soon became his model for action.

In April 1980 Foreman went hiking and camping in Mexico's Pinacate Desert. With him were four friends: Ron Kezar, who had long been a member of the Sierra Club; Bart Koehler, who until RARE II had worked for the Wilderness Society in Wyoming; Mike Roselle, a veteran of many left-wing groups; and Howie Wolke, who had been the Wyoming representative of the Friends of the Earth. All but Roselle had devoted their lives to protecting the environment and had a significant amount of experience working with mainstream environmental groups.[10]

The five men spent a week wandering in the desert, away from the evils of technology and the mores of American society. During that journey, they became further convinced that the Earth was in imminent danger, and that the traditional political system was incapable of effectively remedying the crisis. Their decision to form a new movement occurred while they were drunk:

> Emulating *The Monkey Wrench Gang*'s wild-eyed leader, Wolke and Foreman were ... polishing off a case of Budweiser ... ranting and raving about the emasculated mainstream .... Suddenly, Foreman called out, Earth First![11]

They returned to society with knowledge of the political good, and the desire to act upon that belief.

The creation of Earth First! was partly a rational and strategic act. The movement's founders believed that the American political system, as exemplified by RARE II, had failed, and that other means of preserving wilderness had to be found. At the same time, however, Earth First! differed from other interest groups in important ways. Embedded in its founding myth was an implied statement concerning the freedom and simplicity of

the wilderness, and its provision of a standard of good that exists prior to political society. The movement's doctrine thus embodies issues of meaning and identity that lie outside the boundaries of traditional politics.

The Ideology of Earth First!

After returning from the desert, Dave Foreman organized the new movement's first general meeting or 'Round River Rendezvous'.[12] The gathering was held in DuBois, Wyoming, and over 60 people attended, most of whom were environmentalists from the western states and Washington, DC.[13] At that meeting, the movement's ideological parameters were defined.

The earliest members of Earth First! came together because they shared a belief that modern society's destruction of the natural environment would end in an apocalyptic crisis. Industry, with the help of the American government, was destroying the planet's ecosystems:

> With the taste of blood in their yapping maws, the mad dog political toadies of the Earth-raping corporations are closing in for the kill. Witness Sam Hayakawa's big anti-wilderness bill that makes Tom Foley's of last year look like a Sierra Club project. Or how about Jim Santini's bill to 'liberalize' the 1872 Mining Law? (That's like Himmler loosening up the restrictions on sending Jews to the Nazi death camps.)[14]

Ideally, the government would respond to this crisis by banning automobiles and large-scale industry, eliminating range cattle, and restoring major wilderness areas. Government, industry, and even conservation groups, however, acted only in their own self-interest, and were unwilling to implement the restrictions necessary to save the planet:

> America's and humankind's assault on Mother Earth continues unabated – indeed at an increasingly feverish pace as our junkie technological order seeks quick fixes ... national conservation groups have become more and more lethargic and moderate, seduced by promises of establishment respectability. Earth is being raped – and those who claim to speak for Her are afraid to open their mouths! ... The juggernaut of modern corporate technology must be stopped![15]

Earth First!ers therefore hoped for the end of industrial civilization. The sooner it collapsed, the better, for more wild areas would thus be saved. They therefore found comfort in what they believed was the increasing evil of their political environment. The 'anti-environmental' activities of the Reagan administration were perversely promising, 'The process now taking place under Reagan is more hopeful even as it appears more bleak.'[16] The

'industrial monolith' would eventually destroy itself because there were practical limits to its wasteful behaviour. Many Earth First!ers believed that this collapse would occur at the moment when the earth's supply of oil and gas ran out,[17] and they felt that this end was near:

> I think it's pretty clear from recent events that total economic collapse, the cessation of the infrastructure of our current civilization is only a heartbeat away.[18]

Earth First!ers believed that the destruction caused by industrial civilization was evil in and of itself, but its most important consequence was that it would also soon cause a 'biological meltdown'. One-third to one-half of the planet's species would disappear, yielding a catastrophe so great that it would threaten all the earth's life forms. While mass extinctions had occurred in the past, Earth First!ers believed that this one would be by far the worst. Past extinctions occurred amongst higher order species, a process that did not significantly disrupt evolution. This crisis, however, would occur among plant species. Entire habitats would be destroyed, and as a result, thousands of animal species would also disappear.[19] This crisis would also be particularly dreadful because it was the result of human will, not the 'inevitable' forces of nature. As a result, it would hinder the resurgence of biodiversity for thousands of years:

> [Industrial Civilization's] continuing, exponential increase of biocide that reaches toward the fallacy of materialist salvation, that of power and wealth, is rapidly reaching its conclusion, biological entropy.[20]

Earth First!ers believed that their role was to save as much remaining wilderness as possible, in order that after the apocalypse, biodiversity and evolution would continue.

The fully-developed Earth First! belief system shares many themes with an environmental philosophy known as deep ecology, which argues that there is a need for a complete re-evaluation of humankind's role in the world.[21] Deep ecology asserts that the Copernican revolution taught human beings to approach the world 'anthropocentrically', that is, with a vision narrowly defined by their own needs and desires. Deep ecologists argue that humans are not, however, nature's master, nor are they separate from it, 'the beauty and complexity of nature are continuous with ourselves'.[22] Humans have a pre-political link with nature, thus there is 'no firm ontological divide in the field of existence ... there is no bifurcation in reality between the human and non-human realms'.[23] Humans should therefore respect all species, and dedicate themselves to maintaining the earth's biodiversity. This perspective is 'biocentric', not 'anthropocentric', and it advocates that nature should be understood as part of the moral community. When

combined with Earth First!'s eschatological beliefs, these principles are the basis of an activist millenarian doctrine.

Dave Foreman and Howie Wolke outlined this belief system in a memo mailed to all those who had expressed a commitment to the movement at the Wyoming Rendezvous. Its 'Statement of Principles' included the following tenets:

- Wilderness has a right to exist for its own sake
- All life forms, from virus to the great whales, have an inherent and equal right to existence
- Humankind is no greater than any other form of life and has no legitimate claim to dominate Earth
- Humankind, through overpopulation, anthropocentrism, industrialization, excessive energy consumption [and] resource extraction, state capitalism, father-figure hierarchies, imperialism, pollution, and natural area destruction, threatens the basic life processes of EARTH
- All human decisions should consider Earth first, humankind second
- The only true test of morality is whether an action, individual, social or political, benefits Earth
- Political compromise has no place in the defense of Earth[24]

Earth First!'s founding doctrine thus reflects deep ecology's biocentric philosophy. It identifies wilderness as an absolute good, against which all actions should be judged, and it emphasizes biodiversity. It goes further than deep ecology, however, in that it also advocates biocentric equality, the belief that all species are intrinsically equal. (In the words of Dave Foreman, 'A Goodding's Onion ... has a history, has a pedigree on this planet just as long as mine is, and who's to say I have a right to be here, and it doesn't?'[25]) By this measure, all actions in defense of wilderness are good and justifiable, and those that destroy the environment are evil.

Earth First!ers also believed that they played a special role in this imminent end of history:

> The Earth is our first love, our first concern ... recognition of the significance of *our* role leads to even greater dedication ... Earth First! ... [She] must live Her healthy, tumbling life, free from a dread of infestation and misdeed. As Her seed, we become embassadors [*sic*], emissaries in the final drama, and our mission is indeed grand![26]

After the apocalypse, those human beings who remained would have a more complete awareness of the necessity for a biocentric perspective, and return

to a tribal existence. They would live in small, ecologically sensitive communities and in short, 'go back to the Pleistocene'.[27]

Given their knowledge and abilities, Earth First!ers believed they would play a leading role in these new biocentric communities, however, they continually debated whether or not (given the earth's overpopulation), they should have children. Some individuals argued that Earth First!ers ought to reproduce because:

> ... it is time to recognize a 'deep ecology elite', an ideological population of people who understand their kinship with the earth.... This is a true and ethical elitism, and has nothing to do with material wealth or political power.[28]

Other argued, however, that overpopulation was so severe that even Earth First!ers had a duty to be sterilized.[29]

Earth First!'s belief system can thus be characterized as a millenarian doctrine. Its adherents anticipated an imminent, ultimate, collective, and this-worldly salvation. It was their duty to tolerate no compromise 'in defense of mother earth'. For many Earth First!ers, this meant that the use of illegal and potentially violent tactics was acceptable.

Monkeywrenching

The movement's first major public action took place on 20 March 1981. Seventy-five Earth First!ers gathered at the Colorado Bridge, near Glen Canyon Dam, and with placards and speeches, successfully distracted the Dam's security force. A small group of Earth First!ers then approached the Dam from a side road, scaled its security fence, and ran to the centre of the Dam. There, they unfurled a three hundred foot plastic wedge down the Dam's face, which gave the appearance that the dam had been cracked.[30] In this one action, Earth First! signalled its frustration with traditional conservation groups and their compromises. It also signalled its appreciation for Edward Abbey's Monkey Wrench Gang and its unusual tactics.

From the movement's inception, Earth First!ers used a variety of tactics, including traditional protest methods such as civil disobedience, to protect wilderness. At the same time, however, many of them also engaged in eco-sabotage, or 'monkeywrenching'. Monkeywrenching was used when other means of saving wilderness had failed. It included such tactics as arson, disabling heavy equipment, tree and road spiking, and grounding aircraft. While not all Earth First!ers monkeywrenched, even those who did not participate believed those tactics had a role to play in preserving the environment. When asked their opinion on the matter, they usually

responded with some variation of 'I deplore the necessity of the tactic.'[31] In the words of Earth First!er Roger Featherstone,

> If the authorities know that so-and-so is completely non-violent, and would never go beyond this, there is a lot less respect than if folks think that if non-violence no longer works, there's something else.[32]

Earth First!ers did, however, constantly debate monkeywrenching's effectiveness. One of the most common arguments against it suggested that if a sabotage incident did cause injury or death, it might turn public opinion against wilderness preservation.[33] As well, some Earth First!ers worried that as the movement grew and became increasingly decentralized, there was a greater likelihood that 'mindless vandalism' would occur.[34] Nevertheless, the limited financial information available suggested to many Earth First!ers that monkeywrenching was worthwhile. The Forest Service did not publish its assessment, and larger corporations also avoided making their figures public. Forestry executives in Washington State, however, suggested that the average annual damage in that state alone was over $2 million.[35] Estimates from the Association of Oregon Loggers, further suggested that the average monkeywrenching incident caused about $45,000 worth of property damage, and $15,000 in downtime.[36] For Earth First!ers, these figures were encouraging.

Beginning in May 1982, ideas and instructions for ecological sabotage were regularly published in the movement's newsletter, in a column entitled 'Dear Ned Ludd'. Soon afterwards, Dave Foreman gathered these guidelines together in *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*.[37] In a chapter entitled 'Strategic Monkeywrenching', Foreman argued that monkeywrenching was both ethical and non-violent. These claims warrant further attention.

Foreman's insistence that monkeywrenching was ethical reflected Earth First!'s insistence that the protection of wilderness was the measure of all activity. From that perspective, Foreman argued, monkeywrenching was 'the most moral of all actions'.[38] It was action in defence of the earth:

> If you come home and find a bunch of Hell's Angels raping your wife, old mother, and eleven year old daughter, you don't sit down and talk balance with them or suggest compromise. You get your twelve gauge shotgun and blow them to hell.[39]

Earth First!ers' measure of the political good meant that monkeywrenching did not constitute violence because it was not aimed at the natural world:

> It is aimed at inanimate machines and tools that are destroying life. Care is always taken to minimize any possible threat to people, including the monkeywrenchers themselves.[40]

In his book *Eco-Warriors*, Rik Scarce explains this argument. Scarce (like the radical environmentalists of whom he writes) defines violence as 'inflicting harm on a living being or a non-living natural entity, such as a mountainside', a definition that he acknowledges 'exclude[s] the destruction of human artifacts – machines and the like – from the realm of violence'.[41] Eco-sabotage, by this definition, is not violent. In the words of one Earth First!er:

> I don't believe you can do violence to a piece of machinery, but I think machinery can do violence to the Earth under human direction. As a result, I think machinery is fair game ... There's a moral responsibility to step in and say 'No'.[42]

Government and industry are destroying wilderness; they are the 'real' eco-terrorists.[43] This measure of the political good is even more complicated when human life is involved.

Earth First!'s monkeywrenching handbook, *Ecodefense*, stresses that violence against human beings should be avoided;[44] monkeywrenching should be 'aimed only at inanimate objects, *never* toward physically hurting people'.[45] The character of many monkeywrenching activities, however, is such that they might result in injury or death, either to the monkeywrenchers themselves, or to others. Earth First!ers who accepted both biocentrism and biocentric equality ultimately did not condemn that prospect. By their measure of the good, the earth should be placed first in all decisions, 'even ahead of human welfare if necessary'.[46] That standard made the use of virtually any tactic justifiable:

> I may not use, but I refuse to condemn, any tactic short of machine-gunning down people in the street. I don't approve of that because first, I think it's counter-productive, and secondly, I don't feel it's effective.[47]

The potential for monkeywrenching to harm human beings was thus linked to Earth First!'s millenarian doctrine. Its importance is reflected in the fact that the movement's first major internal conflict occurred over this issue. The newsletter's editor, Pete Dustrud (a long-time friend of Dave Foreman), quit because he had been told to publish a letter that provided instructions on how to spike roads with metal punji stakes, and he believed that such tactics could harm human beings.[48] Foreman later identified Dustrud's departure as a significant turning point in Earth First!'s history. For him, it marked the point where the movement's goals became more important than even personal friendships.[49]

The root cause of the Dustrud/Foreman conflict remained, however, and it was one reason for the movement's eventual split. Those, like Foreman,

who believed in both biocentricism and biocentric equality saw violence to human beings as an unpleasant but perhaps unavoidable outcome of their actions. They were challenged by individuals who believed biocentrism required that human beings learn to respect the environment.

One reason for the importance of this issue was that at all stages of the movement's history, monkeywrenching was not just a strategic tactic. It had spiritual overtones, and it was critical to Earth First!ers' self-understanding. In Foreman's words, it was 'religious in a non-supernatural sense' because it was 'a way of worshipping the earth', and thus 'very much a sacrament'.[50]

> A bulldozer is just iron ore ... It doesn't want to be up here destroying the earth. All we're doing is liberating its soul, allowing it to find its true self, its Buddha-hood, and go back into the earth.[51]

Monkeywrenching was typically undertaken alone, or with trusted friends, and specific actions were not openly discussed at meetings. There was a practical reason for this: to violate either of these rules was to invite arrest. Earth First!ers believed that they were in a war with industrial civilization, and monkeywrenchers were their warriors. As a result, they were praised in the movement's stories and songs:

> Well, I've spiked me some redwoods and I've spiked me some pines,
> And they've tried to stop me with rewards and fines,
> The cops and the Freddies are hot on my trail,
> But I'm a tree-spiker and I'll never get nailed.[52]

Therefore, even though monkeywrenching was undertaken anonymously, it was also an acknowledged undercurrent at Earth First! gatherings. It fostered a sense of community among the movement's adherents, and reinforced the importance of their goal:

> I don't know of anybody that's done it, I'm sure they have, but I don't know of it ... we realize that we're all in this together, we're working with one another.[53]

Earth First!'s doctrine thus interpreted monkeywrenching as non-violent. As noted above, this issue eventually split the movement philosophically. It also influenced the group in a more physical way. Its final fragmentation was marked by two incidents that underscored the dangerous character of monkeywrenching.

The Historical Development of Earth First!

Foreman and Earth First!'s other founders modeled the new movement on the hunter/gatherer tribe. They believed that the corruption of the political

system was in part a result of its monolithic character, and they were determined that Earth First! would have as little structure as possible.[54] In the first years of its existence, it was directed by two governing bodies: the Circle of Darkness, which was its national co-ordinating committee, and *La Manta Mojada*, which was 'an official and secret group of advisors to the Circle'.[55] The movement grew rapidly, however, and as it did, it became increasingly decentralized. By the mid-1980s these two structures disappeared. The movement therefore had no formal hierarchy, but Foreman remained its *de facto* leader and spokesman.[56] This lack of structure was reinforced by the movement's 1982 declaration that individuals were not *members* of Earth First!, but Earth First!ers; they were not bound by membership, but by their ideals.[57] (This decentralization also served the movement's monkeywrenchers well. It made it more difficult for law enforcement agencies to track their activities.)

By May 1982, Earth First!'s adherents numbered over 2,000, and it had cell groups scattered across the United States. At first, Foreman encouraged this diversity; he emphasized that the most important element of the movement's doctrine was the belief that 'the earth must come first', and anyone who believed that to be true was welcome. For him, however, that assertion logically meant that biocentrism and biocentric equality also necessarily held true, and he assumed that held true for all Earth First!ers. In 1982 he could justifiably make that assumption. The vast majority of the early Earth First!ers shared his political experience and they agreed with him. These individuals were generally over the age of 30, primarily lifelong conservation activists, and lived in the American Southwest. Earth First!'s proselytizing efforts were extremely successful, however, and these individuals were soon outnumbered.

The movement's first major campaigns (the 'No G-O Road' and Kalimiopsis actions), occurred in California and Oregon, and there the movement attracted younger adherents with significantly different political histories and political goals. More often than not, these newer West Coast adherents were 'career activists'; they were involved in many political causes, including pro-choice and anti-nuclear groups.[58] For them, environmental concerns were only one of the world's many problems. They were attracted to Earth First!'s radical stance, and they too feared an imminent environmental apocalypse. They were, however, uncomfortable with Foreman's emphasis on biocentric equality. For them, putting the earth first meant that human behaviour had to be changed in order to promote biocentrism and social justice:

> ... we have to deal with humans in order to save as much wilderness as we can, we have to change as much human behaviour as we can ...

> therefore we are engaged in the activity of changing human consciousness and changing human behaviour.[59]

Their goal of public education meant that they favoured civil disobedience tactics (tree-sitting and sit-ins) over monkeywrenching. Civil disobedience could change people's attitudes, whereas monkeywrenching had the potential to alienate those whom it affected. These individuals did not, however, hesitate to advise others to monkeywrench or commit eco-sabotage themselves when they deemed it necessary.[60]

Despite these fundamental differences, the two factions successfully worked together for most of the mid-1980s. Foreman argued that much as Earth First!ers encouraged diversity in the natural world, they should allow diversity in their movement. Everyone who put the earth first was welcome, from:

> animal rights vegetarians to wilderness hunting guides, from monkeywrenchers to followers of Gandhi ... from bitter misanthropes to true humanitarians.[61]

As a result, the movement continued to grow until it peaked at about 10,000 adherents between 1987 and 1988.[62]

By 1987, however, Dave Foreman and his fellow biocentrists had become uncomfortable with the movement's burgeoning size, and with the West Coast Earth First!ers' preference for civil disobedience over monkeywrenching. They argued that emphasizing human education distorted Earth First!'s doctrine because it suggested that human welfare was more important than wilderness. The biocentrists were also discouraged by Earth First!'s lack of absolute achievement. Their efforts postponed commercial development, but rarely stopped it. These factors combined to make the biocentrists increasingly misanthropic. By 1989, they had concluded that neither they nor any human beings should have an important role in the millennium. They hoped only for an imminent end to industrial civilization. Their belief system was thus transformed from a millenarian into an apocalyptic doctrine.

This transformation was seen in the biocentrists' increasing concern over population growth. In the late 1980s, their worries were expressed in several articles in the movement's journal, the most notorious of which was 'Population and AIDS'.[63] In that 1987 article, 'Miss Ann Thropy' argued that the preservation of biodiversity required an enormous decline in the human population, and that such a reduction might well be achieved by the spread of AIDS. If AIDS killed 80 per cent of the world's population, it would successfully undermine industrialism. In so doing, it would preserve wildlife and wilderness areas. The disease was therefore 'environmentally

significant'. The article concluded that 'As radical environmentalists we can see AIDS not as a problem, but as a necessary solution ...'[64]

The article's argument effectively polarized the movement. The biocentrists, even if they did not entirely approve of its content, stood behind its argument, while the social justice faction was appalled. This hostility was further increased when later in 1987 Edward Abbey wrote a letter to the *Bloomsbury Review* suggesting that to prevent further population pressure on its borders, the United States should close its borders to all immigrants.[65]

This internal strife occurred just as the FBI completed a two year infiltration of the movement. The culmination of the FBI's investigation occurred with the arrest of three Arizona Earth First!ers, who were caught attempting to cut electrical lines to the Palo Verde nuclear power plant.[66] Two more individuals, one of whom was Dave Foreman, were also later arrested. (Foreman did not directly participate in the event, but he supplied limited funding and two copies of *Ecodefense* to those who committed the act.[67])

During the trial of the Arizona Five, Foreman's lawyers revealed that the FBI infiltrator had targeted the Earth First! leader as 'the guy we need to pop to send a message'. Subsequently, Foreman pleaded guilty only to distributing *Ecodefense*, and was released on probation.[68]

In a show of solidarity with the jailed monkeywrenchers, Foreman remained with Earth First! until the summer of 1990. On 12 August 1990 he left the movement, claiming that it had been infiltrated by leftists, and that it had abandoned biocentrism in favour of humanism.[69] Many of the biocentrists left with him. Today they still believe that the earth is headed towards an apocalyptic meltdown, but they pursue their goals independently. Many of them continue to monkeywrench, but the most notorious among them fear they are still watched by the FBI, and therefore pursue their goals in legal ways. Foreman and John Davis, another former Earth First!er, publish *Wild Earth*, a journal dedicated to biodiversity issues.

By the late 1980s, the movement's social justice faction was dominated by a group of California Earth First!ers that included Mike Roselle (one of the movement's founders) and Judi Bari. Before moving to California, Bari had been a union organizer, and in her battle against the logging of the Northern California Redwoods, she believed that an alliance of environmentalists and logging unions would be especially effective. Traditionally, the relationship between the two groups had been extremely hostile, largely due to Earth First!'s trademark monkeywrenching tactic, tree spiking.[70] On 11 April 1990, implying that she spoke on behalf of California Earth First!, Bari publicly renounced tree spiking in an effort to form an alliance with the loggers, an act that infuriated Foreman. Soon afterwards, Bari used her notoriety to plan a mass demonstration for the summer of

1990. She called it Redwood Summer, intending the event to recall the 1960 Mississippi Summer. Before it began, however, Bari and her partner Darryl Cherney were themselves the targets of sabotage. On 24 May 1990, as they drove to another demonstration, a bomb exploded in Bari's car. Both survived the blast, but Bari's hip was shattered, and she was hospitalized for several months.[71] (Initially, Bari and Cherney were charged with transporting explosives. Those charges were later dropped, but law enforcement agencies have not yet determined who planted the bomb.)[72]

The California bombing caused Earth First!'s social justice faction to pursue its goals with renewed vigour. It took over the movement's leadership after the biocentrists left, and its adherents returned the movement to a millenarian belief structure. The 'new' Earth First!ers still believe they have a special role to play in history, and they still foresee an imminent biological crisis, but their beliefs differ from those of the biocentrists. As noted above, their definition of biocentrism emphasizes its connection to social justice, and they believe that through proselytism and education, they can create a mass movement. After the apocalypse, they imagine a world of bioregional communities that will live in peace and harmony with the earth.

Conclusion

Earth First!'s history can therefore be divided into three stages. During the initial period (1980–82), all adherents were committed to a millenarian doctrine, and they were prepared to use virtually any tactics they deemed necessary to achieve their goals. In the movement's middle years (roughly 1983–87), two discernable factions coexisted within Earth First!. The original adherents increasingly emphasized biocentrism and biocentric equality. This saw their belief system transformed into an apocalyptic doctrine that still stressed the use of monkeywrenching to achieve its goals. The generally younger West Coast adherents emphasized social justice and civil disobedience. They believed that biocentrism could best be achieved through social justice. As a result, they gradually reinterpreted the original millenarian doctrine, and indicated a preference for tactics that would not harm human beings. In the final period of the movement's history (from 1987 through to the present), the apocalyptic biocentrists left the movement. At their departure, they were more committed than ever to preserving biodiversity and wilderness. The social justice faction took over the movement's leadership, and through its rejection of tree spiking, it signalled its rejection of the movement's most potentially violent tactics. Today, its rhetoric and publications stress civil disobedience, but still encourage monkeywrenching:

> Brothers and sisters ... we have received a sign ... from the Goddess Mother. She does *not* want us to go forth to the year 2000. She does *not* want us to follow the Solar, Papal, out-of-balance destroy the culture of the Earth People Calendar, She is calling for us to Monkeywrench the Millennium.[73]

In and of itself, Earth First! is an interesting case study. Its emergence and development, however, illustrate trends that are important for the larger North American political community. As indicated in the introduction to this article, environmental issues are now an established part of the political agenda, and with each new environmental crisis, general uncertainty about the health of the planet increases. In such a situation, it is possible, if not highly probable, that more radical environmental movements will emerge. Those that evidence a millenarian belief structure will be the most threatening. With a measure of the political good that lies outside that of traditional society, they too will be prepared to use any tactics they deem necessary to achieve their goals.

NOTES

This research was supported by a Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1. J. Kevin O'Brien, Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts Section, Information Management Division, FBI, Letter, 5 Feb. 1992.
2. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, rev. ed. (NY: OUP, 1970), p.13.
3. Michael Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1974), p.18. Along with Barkun, scholars such as James Rhodes, *The Hitler Movement* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Instn Press, 1980) and Yonina Talmon, 'Millenarism', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (NY: Macmillan, 1968), have used millenarian theory to examine secular political groups.
4. See, e.g., David Brower, *For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower* (Layton, UT: Peregrine Smith), p.344.
5. Carol S. Greenwald, *Group Power* (NY: Praeger, 1977), p.181.
6. Dave Foreman, *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior* (NY: Harmony, 1991), p.12.
7. Tom Miller, 'What is the Sound of one Billboard Falling', *The Berkeley Barb* 20/17, pp.9–12.
8. The dedication continues with a citation from Byron, 'Down with all kings but King Ludd', Edward Abbey, *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (NY: Avon, 1975), pp.vi, ix.
9. A more complete analysis of Foreman's interpretation of RARE II can be found in Foreman (note 6), pp.13–14.
10. Christopher Manes, *Green Rage* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990), pp.65–69, and Rik Scarce, *Eco-Warriors* (Chicago, IL: Noble Press, 1990), pp.58–61. These works, along with Susan Zakin's *Coyotes and Town Dogs* (NY: Viking, 1993), are sympathetic accounts of Earth First!, but they are also the only book-length secondary sources so far published on the movement.
11. Rik Scarce (note 10), p.61. Earth First!'s founding is part of the movement's mythology, and as a result, many variations of it exist. The basic story of each version is, however, the same. Roselle, for example, argues that the founding actually occurred in a Mexican whorehouse.

Kenneth Brower, 'Mr Monkeywrench', *Harrowsmith* (Sept./Oct. 1988), p.40.

12. The meeting was named to recall Aldo Leopold's essay 'The Round River, A Parable'. The legend of which Leopold wrote concerned the interconnectedness and equality of all elements of the ecological cycle. Aldo Leopold, *Round River, From the Journals of Aldo Leopold* (NY: OUP, 1953), pp.158–65.
13. Scarce (note 10), p.62.
14. Dave Foreman, 'The Hounds of Hell are Howling High', *Earth First! Newsletter* 1/6 (21 June 1981), p.1.
15. Dave Foreman, Memorandum regarding Earth First Statement of Principles and Membership Brochure (1 Sept. 1980), pp.2–3 [Emphasis in original].
16. Letter to Earth First!, *Earth First! Newsletter* 1/3 (Brigid, 2 Feb. 1982), p.8.
17. Interview with George Draffan, 8 April 1991, Ballard, WA.
18. Interview with Greg Winguard, 10 April 1991, Seattle, WA.
19. Manes (note 10), pp.25–6. Manes himself was an Earth First!er, and his work provides the best explication of these beliefs.
20. Reserve (Reverse) [pseud.], 'We've Got to do Some Motherin', *Earth First! Newsletter* (Halloween, 31 Oct. 1981), p.1.
21. Arne Naess, 'The Shallow and the Deep, Long Range Ecology Movement, A Summary', *Inquiry* 16 (1973), pp.95–100. Most Earth First!ers acknowledge the importance of deep ecology, but they are uncomfortable with identifying a philosophical source for these beliefs; they argue that they came to these conclusions by virtue of their practical experience in the world. Interview with Draffan (note 17).
22. Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology* (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith Books, 1985), p.67.
23. Warwick Fox, cited in Devall and Sessions (note 22), p.66.
24. Dave Foreman (note 15), p.2. During the first months of its existence, Earth First! did not use an exclamation point after its name; it was added to emphasize the movement's goals. The text of this short article uses that punctuation the sake of consistency.
25. Speech by Dave Foreman, Santa Fe, NM, 25 June 1989, cited in Manes (note 10), p.72.
26. Tir Eriaur Aldaron, 'Ele! Mellonkemmi Greetings Earthfriends!', *Earth First! Newsletter* 1/5 (Beltane, 1 May 1981), p.5,
27. Interview with George Draffan (note 17), and Interview with John Davis, 4 Dec. 1991, Canton, NY.
28. Reed Noss, 'Deep Ecology, Elitism and Reproduction', *Earth First* 4/5 (Beltane, 1 May 1984), p.16.
29. Under the pseudonym Chim Blea, for example, Foreman argued that the government should award 20,000 dollars to anyone volunteering to be sterilized without producing children, and make sterilization mandatory for all individuals once they had parented one child. Dave Foreman [Chim Blea], 'Reducing Population', *Earth First! Newsletter* 3/6 (Lughnasad, 1 Aug. 1983), p.3.
30. Earth First! Springs to Life: Organization Urges Dismantling of Glen Canyon Dam', Press Release (20 March 1981), Page, Arizona, FBI file, FOIA 344,522/190-71269. Susan Zakin identifies the individuals who 'cracked' the Dam as Dave Foreman, Howie Wolke, Louisa Willcox, Tony Moore, and Bart Koehler. Zakin, (note 10), p.149.
31. Interview with Winguard (note 18).
32. Roger Featherstone, cited in Scarce (note 10), p.12.
33. Interview with Draffan (note 17).
34. Interview with Mitch Friedman 16 April 1991, Bellingham, WA.
35. Industry executives requested anonymity. The date and location of those interviews would provide significant clues as to the identity of those subjects.
36. CM [pseud.], 'An Appraisal of Monkeywrenching', *Earth First!* 10/3 (2 Feb. 1990) p.30.
37. Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood [pseud.] (eds), *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, 3rd edn (Chico, CA: Abbzug Press, 1993). The pseudonym Bill Haywood was chosen to reflect Foreman's affection for the IWW (the Wobblies) and their goals.
38. Ibid., p.11.

39. Dave Foreman, 'Violence and Earth First!,' *Earth First Newsletter* 2/4 (Eostar Ritual, 20 March 1982), p.4.
40. Foreman and Haywood [pseud.] (note 37) p.9.
41. Scarce (note 10), p.13.
42. Interview with Winguard (note 18).
43. Interview with Tony VanGessel, 15 April 1991, Bellingham, WA.
44. Foreman and Haywood [pseud.] *Ecodefense* (note 34), p.31. See also Foreman, *Confessions* (note 6), pp.165–6.
45. Foreman (note 6), p.118.
46. Ibid., p.26.
47. Interview with Winguard (note 18).
48. Pete Dustrud, 'Dear Readers, You now have a New Editor', *Earth First!* 2/7 (Lughnasad, 1 Aug. 1982), p.2.
49. Interview with Dave Foreman 24 Jan. 1992, Tucson, AZ.
50. Ibid.
51. Dave Foreman quoted in Tony DePaul, 'The Environmental Guerrillas', *Boston Globe Magazine* (27 March 1988), p.8.
52. Mike Roselle and Darryl Cherney, 'Ballad of the Lonesome Tree Spiker', *They Sure Don't Make Hippies Like They Used To*, home recording. 'Freddies' was the movement's term for Forest Service employees.
53. Interview with Helen Wilson 26 Jan. 1992, Tucson, AZ.
54. Interview with Foreman (note 49).
55. Dave Foreman, *Nature More* (July 1980), p.2.
56. Earth First!ers insisted they had no formal leader, but Foreman edited the movement's paper, always gave the 'keynote address at the annual Rendezvous, and was looked upon by many as a kind of prophet. Interview with Nancy Zierenberg 26 Jan. 1992, Tucson, AZ.
57. It should be noted that later in the movement's history, its adherents rejected the term 'member'. They preferred to be called 'Earth First!ers', because this stressed that their affiliation was to a movement, not a group. They were bound by their ideals, not by membership. Pete Dustrud, 'Earth First!er in Eugene', *Earth First! Newsletter* 2/4 (Eostar Ritual, 20 March 1982), p.2.
58. Interview with Renee Reed 19 April 1991, Seattle, WA, and interview with Darryl Cherney 10 April 1991, Ballard, WA.
59. Interview with Cherney, ibid.
60. In 1990, e.g., Darryl Cherney, a well-known member of Earth First!'s social justice faction, created a poster that advertised 'Earth Night', which encouraged monkeywrenching activities on the eve of Earth Day (an event he felt had been taken over by the polluting corporations themselves). Several individuals took his advice. The next day, several electrical transmission towers in California were toppled, leaving over 90,000 people without power. Jonathan Littman, 'Peace, Love ... and TNT', *California*, Dec. 1990, p.89.
61. Dave Foreman, 'Welcome to Earth First!', *Earth First!* 5/5 (Beltane, 1 May 1985) p.16. At the same time as he welcomed this diversity, Foreman also warned that Earth First! represented a specific militant philosophy, and those who did not agree with it should 'find their own tribe'.
62. Interview with Foreman (note 49). The movement's decentralization makes it impossible to ascertain Earth First!'s exact size at any point in time. Complicating the matter is the fact that its journal, *Earth First!*, kept its subscription list confidential.
63. Miss Ann Thropy [pseud.], 'Population and AIDS', *Earth First!* 7/5 (1 May 1987), p.32. Research suggests that 'Miss Ann Thropy' was Christopher Manes, author of *Green Rage*.
64. Ibid.
65. See, e.g., Alien Nation [pseud.], 'Dangerous Tendencies in Earth First!', *Earth First!* 5/1 (1 Nov. 1987), p.17.
66. The incident occurred on 31 May 1989. The cell group concerned, which used the acronym EMETIC (for 'Evan Meecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy') had committed several such actions, beginning in Oct. 1987. The most effective summary of these events can be found in Dean Kuipers, 'Razing Arizona', *Spin* 5/6 (Sept. 89), pp.33–8.

67. Anthony Sommer, 'Review Case Against Earth First!, Judge Asked', *Phoenix Gazette* (5 June 1991), p.A6.
68. Mark Shaffer, '"Eco-terrorism" Trial Underway', *Arizona Republic* (20 June 1991), p.B1. The other Earth First!ers were sentenced to between one month and six years in jail.
69. Mike Geniella, 'Leadership Dispute Splits Earth First!', *The Press Democrat* (12 Aug. 1990), p. A1.
70. Tree-spiking is the insertion of a long metal or ceramic spike into trees that are scheduled for cutting. Properly inserted, spikes do not damage the tree. If a chainsaw hits the spike, however, the logger would possibly be maimed or killed and his/her equipment destroyed. If the spike is hit when the tree is cut at the mill, the potential for damage is even greater. After spiking a stand of trees, monkeywrenchers inform its owner, claiming that from that point on, it is the moral responsibility of the company to remove the spikes, an endeavour that will cost both time and money. If the cost is high enough, the trees might not be cut.
71. The best account of these events can be found in Littman, 'Peace, Love and TNT' (note 60).
72. K. Bishop, 'If a Tree Falls in the Forest, They Hear It', *New York Times Magazine*, 4 Nov. 1990, p.A8.
73. Reverend Rabbi [pseud.], 'Monkeywrench the Millennium, Published on the 13th Day of the 7th Moon, Year One', *Earth First!* 14/6 (Litha, 21 June 1994), p.15 [Emphases in Original].

Absolute Rescue: Absolutism, Defensive Action and the Resort to Force

JEFFREY KAPLAN

The murder of Dr David Gunn in 1993 by Michael Griffin made a decisive break with the pro-life rescue movement's 20-year history of non-violent protest against abortion in America. That act opened the floodgates to other violent attacks on doctors, and brought to public notice a violent splinter sect of the larger millenarian subculture dedicated to the 'rescue' of the unborn. This essay seeks to detail the stages through which the radical fringe of the rescue movement passed before they came to embrace the necessity of 'Defensive Action'. By allowing the rescuers to speak in their own voices, it is hoped that the study will contribute to a greater understanding of the process by which a millenarian movement turns from non-violent witness to violent activism.

Rescue those being led away to death;
hold back those staggering toward slaughter. Proverbs 24:11

> *Imagine 50 Christians, totally committed to God, who lose everything because of their obedience to Him, and no longer have any ties or obligations in the world, who can easily risk all...They [the abortion industry] are just hanging themselves by making us stronger.* Shelley Shannon, June 1993[1]

The rescue movement is dead. Such was the view of rescuers interviewed for this research. The select few willing to pay the increasingly draconian price of true rescue – in rescue terminology the interposition of the body of the rescuer between the killer and his intended victim – have dwindled to a paltry few. And many of these are paying the price of that faithful witness in the jails and prisons of America. Of the groups profiled in these pages in my Autumn 1993 review article, 'America's Last Prophetic Witness: The Literature of the Rescue Movement',[2] Operation Rescue National is a shadow of its former self, functioning more as a traveling tent revival than a rescue organization, the Missionaries to the Preborn have suffered a leadership schism and the missionaries themselves are enmeshed in the court system, while for reasons that may not at this time be made public, the Lambs of Christ have ceased their rescue activities.[3]

What is more, the rescue community, already estranged from its mainstream pro-life parent, has been torn asunder by an increasingly divisive debate over the utility of the resort to violence in defense of the unborn. This debate, conducted as are all internal debates within the rescue movement in the pages of key rescue journals and among adherents themselves, has served both to polarize the once cohesive world of rescue and to create an increasingly bitter chasm between rescuers and the larger pro-life constituency.[4]

This study seeks to illustrate the complex of factors which have led to this state of affairs. More, this work will attempt to present these events as they are seen through the eyes of the adherents of the faction of the rescue community which has accepted the necessity of the use of force. In so doing, it is hoped that it will be possible to translate for a secular, scholarly audience an apocalyptic millenarian *Zeitgeist* which is at this writing still very much in the process of formation. Much of what follows thus relies heavily on the assistance and the writings of the rescuers themselves. A great deal of internal material, letters, prison diaries and extensive correspondence has been made available to this research. Interviews and personal letters too have played a considerable role in what follows. Yet of equal import are the rescue journals, magazines and newsletters in which the theology of rescue is even now evolving.

In the attempt to introduce the scholarly community to the *Zeitgeist* of the rescue world, this article allows the rescuers to speak in their own voices. For this reason, the terminology employed throughout the article reflects the accepted pattern of discourse within rescue's most determinedly millenarian adherents, those who have accepted at least the theoretical possibility of the efficacy of the resort to deadly force. Thus, the terms 'baby' rather than fetus, 'deathscorts' rather than clinic escorts, 'death culture' or 'abortion culture' for American culture, 'murder' or 'child killing' for abortion, 'abortuary', 'killing center' or 'child killing industry' for for-profit abortion clinics, 'Prisoner of Christ' for jail or prison inmate, and, on occasion, 'killer' or 'mass murderer' for abortionist, are not only intrinsic to the discourse of the movement, but are necessary if the movement's worldview and its recent actions are to be made comprehensible to a scholarly audience. In this context, the term 'abortionist' is itself controversial. Yet the term remains in the text as it is not only the most accurate description of the profession, but because the various readers of earlier drafts of this work could suggest no alternative which was not either linguistically clumsy or utterly artificial. In the final analysis, this contribution seeks to present the rescue movement on its own terms and in its own words without the distraction of an intrusive scholarly voice. The rescue movement today is a little studied, poorly understood

oppositional millennial movement which, in taking its challenge to the prevailing attitudes of the America of the 1990s, has struck a raw nerve in the dominant culture. The social critique which rescue offers centers on the most delicate and deeply personal issues of our time: the relative values placed on individual freedom and reproductive rights versus our society's traditional reverence for babies and children, for families, and, at the deepest level, for life itself.

Thus the powerful emotions unleashed on both sides of the 'abortion wars', and thus the decision to allow the scholarly community to see and hear for themselves the rescue movement's powerful indictment of the contemporary world. It is hoped that through this work, it will be possible not only to better understand rescue as a social movement, but of equal import to the task of this volume, to follow the evolution of an oppositional millenarian appeal from its optimistic beginnings through an increasingly apocalyptic and despairing phase and, ultimately, to the adoption of a seemingly hopeless course of revolutionary violence.

The study will be divided into two sections: worldview and the resort to force. The voices in which it is written are those of such imprisoned rescuers as Shelley Shannon (convicted of shooting Wichita abortionist George Tiller), convicted clinic bomber John Brockhoeft and Paul Hill, sentenced to death for killing the abortionist John Britton. Other voices will be heard as well – those counseling an adherence to rescue's twenty year old ethos of pacifism and non-violence. It is hoped that together, this chorus of 'prophetic witnesses' will serve to illuminate this American pariah movement.[5]

I. Worldview

The Conversion Experience

You know, every pro-lifer has a story... Joe Scheidler[6]

Virtually every rescuer can point to a moment in which a general feeling of uneasiness with abortion was catalyzed into a sudden, intense realization that abortion was indeed murder and that some concrete action had to be taken to save the babies from imminent death. For some, this moment was the culmination of feelings of remorse over some personal involvement with the abortion culture. Perhaps a woman had an abortion, or a man urged or financed such a procedure. More often, however, that moment of enlightenment came as a result of having seen the graphic evidence of the reality of abortion.

For John Brockhoeft, that moment came on Saturday, 28 December

1985. On that bitterly cold day, while taking part in a peaceful pro-life demonstration outside a Planned Parenthood clinic in Cincinnati, activist Melody Green displayed the bodies of seven aborted babies respectfully laid out in seven tiny caskets. The effect on Brockhoeft was immediate, but what to him was immeasurably more shocking was the indifference of the public and of the ever-present pro-choice demonstrators to this indisputable evidence of the evils of abortion. Brockhoeft's life had changed forever, for suddenly:

> ...My heart was overwhelmed with grief and love for the babies, fury and rage toward the criminals...and...deep shame and embarrassment before God. I was ashamed of being an American and, *especially*, an American *man*; ashamed of being part of a lukewarm church...I was ashamed of myself for having done nothing during the first years, and so little thereafter, and for having put off the doing of what I felt was my duty to my God and my country, namely, the exertion of actual force to preempt the slaughter of my people, to protect the lives of American babies.[7]

'The Silent Scream', a graphic film of an abortion narrated by former abortionist Bernard Nathanson, was Shelley Shannon's introduction to the movement:

> I've always known abortion was wrong. In 1987 or thereabouts, I read a short article by Melody Green describing Dr. Nathanson's film, 'The Silent Scream'. She described the baby trying to get away from the abortionist, but it couldn't. And when he killed it, its mouth went open like it was screaming. Until then, I never thought about the babies being killed. It was like suddenly waking up, and finding that there were other people who were also awake, but most weren't.[8]

This film too is alleged by Michael Griffin to have triggered his resolve to kill abortionist David Gunn: an act which opened the floodgates to the resort to the 'justifiable homicide' of abortionists to save the lives of their victims.[9]

So intense was the impact of the visual image of an aborted baby on individual rescuers that it was little wonder that signs depicting horrific images of the results of burned bodies resulting from saline abortions or the dismembered corpses left by suction abortions became ubiquitous at non-violent rescues throughout the nation. As John Brockhoeft's narrative illustrates, it was felt that if the American public could but see the awesome truth of abortion, they would rise as one to put a stop to the practice. More, this realization of the slaughter of the innocent would be the catalyst for the awakening of the Church whose silence is perceived by rescuers as the greatest crime of the abortion culture. That both the church and the populace

would remain unmoved may be safely posited to be the genesis of the apocalyptic view of American culture which characterizes the millenarian ethos of the rescue movement.[10]

The Awakening

> *The wrath of God burns furiously against the USA, and we are poised for destruction. Why? It is not only for the rare satanic zeal which kills babies. It is because of the pervasive lukewarmness which kills babies.* John Brockhoeft[11]

By their own testimony, rescuers before their conversion to the truth of the abortion culture were an unremarkable group. Primarily white, largely middle and working class, deeply religious members of independent fundamentalist or evangelical Protestant churches or devout Catholics, rescuers are products of an idealized America in which truth, justice and basic goodness are sure to triumph in the end.[12] Theirs was, in John Brockhoeft's words, an America whose colonial Golden Age myth is one of a Christian nation in which 'Everybody was a Christian, unashamed of the gospel.'

> That's how it was in the beginning, and that's the way it was all along in America for hundreds of years – even until within a relatively few years ago – even within my short lifetime.[13]

That the American public was hostile to the simple truth offered by the rescue community, and worse that the Church itself was indifferent to rescue's plea for the lives of 'Christ's least brothers' to use the terminology of the Lambs of the Christ, was the first step on the road to rescue's current demonization of American culture. But it was only the first step, for despite the hostility displayed to the rescue message, the rescue community for almost two decades held true to its original commitment to nonviolence. It took much more than this to bring about the current climate. For if indifference was the first step in the disillusionment of rescuers with American society, the experience of violence at the hands of those that the civics texts of the 1950s and 1960s held to be the guardians of order was the next great shock.

Police, Prisons and the 'Deathscorts'

> *Do not be afraid of what you are about to suffer. I tell you, the devil will put some of you in prison to test you, and you will suffer persecution for ten days. Be faithful, even to the point of death, and I will give you the crown of life.* [Rev. 2:10]

In the 'Siege of Atlanta' in 1988, the staunchly pacifist Operation Rescue lost its innocence. Rescue would never again be the same. Randall Terry's *Accessory to Murder* offers an instructive portrait of this time of trial.[14] Atlanta split Operation Rescue and gave birth to the Missionaries to the Preborn, but it was an experience which was to have an even more profound impact on the rank and file rescuers. John Brockhoeft had been taken into custody by BATF agents on 7 May 1988, two months before the events in Atlanta, but Shelley Shannon was there. So were hundreds of others. Atlanta's police and prisons apprised rescuers of the grim truth that their non-violent witness would not soon awaken America to repentance or the Church to renewal.

It was in Atlanta that police systematically adopted the use of 'pain compliance' tactics designed to force rescuers to walk under their own volition to waiting police vans, and it was in Atlanta too that rescuers were introduced to the terrible conditions to which prisoners are subjected in much of urban America. Given the social backgrounds of the rescue community – men and women who had never before considered even the possibility of violating the lawful orders of police and courts – this was a revelation in itself.[15]

Atlanta was in fact a mere taste of what was to come. In the wake of the Siege of Atlanta, violence at the clinics – violence in which rescuers often found themselves to be the victims – escalated rapidly. Rescuers assert that the primary sources of clinic level violence centered on the volunteer clinic escorts (or in rescue parlance, deathscorts), and on some local police departments. Jail conditions under which rescuers were held deteriorated rapidly as well.

In the formation of the currently prevalent apocalyptic worldview of the rescue community, the volunteer clinic defense teams – the so-called deathscorts – deserve more than a passing mention. Clinic volunteers are a diverse group. Escorts come from many walks of life; men and women, feminists, liberal activists, and perhaps most notably for the rescuers, members of such homosexual activist groups as Act Up and Queer Nation.[16] It is clear from this research that, in the view of the rescuers, much if not most of the violence around clinics which occurred during rescue's pacifist heyday came from the highly emotional, too often vituperative, and occasionally physically abusive behavior of the 'deathscorts'. That the rescuers' outrage at the behavior of the clinic guards was fully reciprocated by the escorts' disgust for the actions of the rescuers is clear as well from the literature.[17]

A central irony of the rescue movement lies in the fact that rescue, intended as a non-violent action with the dual intent of preventing the death of a baby in the immediate sense and of awakening American society and

the American Church to the devaluation of the value and quality of human life which has taken place in recent years, has in practice unleashed the most negative emotions on both sides of the barricades. Consistently, the anger generated between the groups encamped outside the clinic door has brought about verbal confrontations intended to attack that which each side holds most dear. Thus began a process of dehumanization on both sides which served to lower the threshold to the resort to violence. On the rescue side, terms such as 'deathscorts' and the Nazi era metaphor in which the term is often couched, as well as the characterization of the abortionist as 'killer' or 'murderer' has served this purpose. On the part of the escorts – particularly those from homosexual organizations – the terminology of abuse has been explicitly anti-Christian and often sexual and scatological as well. For rescuers hearing such epithets, it took little imagination to interpret these imprecations as explicitly and unambiguously satanic. Thus the confirmation of the view that the abortion clinics of America are literal altars to Satan, and that those involved in the abortion industry – particularly the clinic volunteers – are literal witches and satanists.[18] Indeed, Shelley Shannon notes that her own decision to resort to force was influenced by listening to a taped sermon comparing the abortion clinics of America to satanic altars.[19] John Brockhoeft is equally explicit:

> It is a well known fact that some people who deliberately and knowingly worship Satan take jobs in abortion chambers....How could a real satanist resist an opportunity to participate in human sacrifice with immunity from prosecution? And we have discovered that to be accepted in some satanic covens a young woman must submit to the initiation of getting pregnant and aborting the baby.[20]

Taking the lessons learned in Atlanta, some local police departments began to respond to Operation Rescue's mass events with an increasing violence. Pain compliance holds served to force rescuers to abandon their positions 'voluntarily', and thus increased both police efficiency and reduced the chance of police injuries incurred in the process of carrying sometimes hefty rescuers determined to remain limp. Yet the line between 'pain compliance' and outright brutality is exceedingly thin, and some departments went far beyond the call of duty. The litany of such events serves as a résumé for veteran rescuers. Atlanta, Pittsburgh, West Hartford, and Los Angeles are particularly memorable.[21] Pain compliance holds became more severe, including the use of nunchukas, a Philippines martial arts weapon, by Los Angeles police. Shelley Shannon's description of such police techniques in Portland in a 13 January 1990 rescue are typical of this turn to greater police force.

> Police & pro-aborts worked arm in arm. They were nice to pro-death but extra brutal to us. I had my eyes closed praying...Whenever I opened them, I saw people getting tortured. They messed up Linda's wrist [Linda Wolfe, her wrist was broken], also kicks. They did get one guy by the jaws (I should have told him to put his chin down *Before* they get to you). Pro-aborts were laughing, having fun. 'Woe unto you who laugh now'....One violent officer [name deleted] grabbed a handful of Derek's hair and yanked him up & away by it saying 'Get off those officers!' That was weird, I thought, because there were no officers...Then he grabbed a handful of my hair and pulled me up by it, telling me to get off the imaginary officers...I saw the big officer with grayish hair and mustache, who always threatens to break our arms, club Derek and say 'get up!' Poor Derek. He's only 19 yrs. old. It made a sick sound...[22]

With the rise in police brutality came an increasingly severe prison regime, culminating in the events in the Pittsburgh jail in 1989.[23] In Pittsburgh, the casual violence and degradation which is the norm in America's urban jails was replaced with the alleged sexual abuse of female rescuers by male officers in full view of male prisoners. For rescuers, little emphasis is placed on individual suffering. Beatings are shrugged off, and the violence of some local police departments have come to be accepted as the price of admission to the rescue culture. Sexual abuse, threats of rape or other forms of implied or actual sexual violence intended to degrade or humiliate female rescuers however, is something else. Rescue is an intensely religious form of Christian witness whose primary emphasis centers after all on procreation and the dignity of human life. In such a culture, sexuality is a central concern. Thus the reaction to events in Pittsburgh. There, rescuers assert that after having covered their badges, Pittsburgh police roamed through the bus where female rescuers were manacled, beating them with nightsticks. Worse was to come:

> They took the women to the men's jail. Cops and guards dragged them up five flights of stairs, pulling out clumps of hair, ripping the clothes off them. These men strip searched the women, fondled and molested them, shouted obscenities, paraded them naked up and down in front of the men's cells. They ripped rosary beads apart, threw Bibles into trash cans.
>
> No one cared. The newspapers and churches were not interested. [24]

As important to the formation of an apocalyptic world view as were events such as those in the Pittsburgh jail, it must be kept in mind that a municipal jail is primarily a holding cell. Stays are of relatively short duration, and

mass rescues of the Operation Rescue variety tend to quickly overwhelm these facilities. The prison system itself can be far worse. Here, rescuers come in contact with the most violent of criminals, and here too rescuers encounter the most hardened of prison guards. Remarkably, this research indicates that for rescuers, the prisoners are seen in a considerably more positive light than are guards or prison officials. The explanation for this anomaly may lie in part in the rescuers' view of prisoners as a potential mission field as much in need of hearing the Gospel's message of hope as are the unborn themselves (Heb. 10:33 and 13:3, 1 Peter 3:19, and Rev. 2:10). Prisoners for their part appear to have been, by and large, protective of incarcerated rescuers. Not so prison guards and prison officials.

A number of rescuers, following the example of Joan Andrews, have made it a point not to cooperate in any way with prison authorities. Some, such as the Lambs of Christ, even refuse to give their names, to leave voluntarily unless all of their number are released, or to pay fines or court costs. Such defiance is hardly conducive to the maintenance of order in penal institutions, and defiance is dealt with harshly in America's prisons. In such an atmosphere, it is only natural that the treatment of rescuers – hardly career criminals and brought up with a naïve view of American justice – would be less than gentle. Conversely, it is hardly a revelation that rescuers would see a pattern to their individual experiences of mistreatment which would indicate to many the existence of a pervasive evil underlying the visible pattern of events. Such suspicions in the prison diaries and internal communications of rescuers clearly begin to reflect these suspicions as early as 1989. Remarkably, for many rescuers, these observations are often broached with a humor belying their deadly seriousness.

To give an early flavor of this evolution, the following text compresses a diary written by Shelley Shannon from 21 October 1989 to 2 November 1989 as a guest of the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta for a stay of '10 days, 6 hours, 17 minutes'.[25]

> All along its seemed like a spiritual battle: God giving us tickets on sale so we could fly ... and leading me and [name deleted] to come instead of paying a fine ...There's a feeling something great is going to happen in Atlanta...
>
> We are now in a filthy holding cell waiting to check into Fulton Co. Jail...One lady in here told us when she finally got a blanket, it had b. m. on it, and even later she got another but she said it smelled like man's stuff. Everyone is telling us about the conditions in the jail...worse than any prison any of them have been in...
>
> ... There are some in here who aren't saved (Help us, please God, to help them) ... [name deleted] is pregnant and doesn't want to tell

> them because another lady ... was given pills and started bleeding. She quit taking them and I'll try to get some out. She did have a miscarriage though. They say it was thyrozine (?) [sic] in the kool-aid to take away your sex drive. If so, it doesn't work on the lesbians...
>
> [A] lady told us how [Oregon rescuer] Linda Wolfe saved her twin babies ... A guy was going to set her up in prostitution and pay her bail and for her abortion. She said she was going to kill her child just to get out ... Linda came over to her and they talked a long time. And she decided not to get an abortion and has been sitting here in jail paying the price for choosing to do the right thing. She's getting back with her husband and he's really happy about the twins. She also told us a lot of inmates came in pregnant and end up with miscarriages after receiving 'medication'. [name deleted] has been doing good – she has delivered witches and prostitutes crying out to Jesus to deliver them! P. T. L. [Praise the Lord]!..
>
> ... I wrote for my prayer request that 'God will revive America and His people who are called by His name will turn from their wicked ways in repentance'....

Shelley Shannon's notes are not atypical of the rescue literature at the time of the 'Siege of Atlanta'. There was in the published literature, as in private correspondence, the same call to save an America seen as contaminated by the vile sins of child murder, sexual vice and selfish materialism. Yet the rescuers' America of 1988–89 was still God's 'city on a hill'. The experiences of Atlanta, however, began to cast the shadow of doubt about America's salvation among the rescue community, and by late 1989 or early 1990, rescue literature began to take an increasingly despairing tone. That God would soon act to cleanse the land from the stain of abortion remained an article of faith. But how? It rapidly became clear that salvation would not take place by means of the courts and the political system. With this realization came the decisive break between rescue and the larger pro-life movement.[26]

The Political Process and the Legal System

> *Beginning officially with the passage of the Freedom of Choice Act – we, the remnant of God-fearing men and women of the United States of Amerika [sic], do officially* ***declare war*** *on the entire child killing industry.* [*The Army of God Manual*, 1994][27]

The 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion on demand in the now famous *Roe v. Wade* case, like the 1962 ruling against prayer in the public schools, served as a wake-up call to segments of the religious community

that something in America was seriously amiss. The confirmation of the decision in 1973's *Doe v. Bolton* which found three proposed restrictions to full abortion access in a Georgia statute unconstitutional served primarily to confirm to the rescue community that justice for the unborn would not soon be forthcoming from the courts of a fallen America.[28] More relevant restrictions on the public witness of rescuers, however, have sounded the death knell of rescue which opened this essay, and it is these restrictions – some ironically gaining overwhelming majorities for passage in response to some act of rescue violence – which were key ingredients in the turn to violence by some in the rescue movement. What follows examines only a few of these developments: the use of civil litigation and the RICO statute to deter rescuers, the rescuers' furor over the proposed Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA), and the criminal penalties of the Freedom of Clinic Entrances Bill (FACE).

There is something faceless yet inexorable about the workings of the legal system. In rescue parlance, the free standing abortion clinics of America offer an obvious address for the rescuers' war against Satan. The abortionist and the ubiquitous 'deathscorts' give the devil's timeless evil a human face, while at their worst, the police give this evil a cadre of enforcers. Yet what effective rejoinder could be offered to a missive such as the following?

> Dear Ms Shannon,
>
> I represent the Lovejoy Surgicenter, Inc. [a Portland abortion clinic]. This letter is written to advise you that you have until 12:00 noon on July 21, 1992 to pay ... $504,486.43 plus attorney fees and costs...by the above stated deadline.
>
> If you fail to meet this deadline, I have been instructed to immediately initiate a legal action for collection...THIS IS THE FINAL DEMAND ON THIS ACCOUNT BEFORE LEGAL ACTION IS INITIATED.
>
> Very Truly Yours,
> [Name Withheld][29]

The Lovejoy suit which resulted in this demand was a 1991 civil action alleging simple trespass against the Advocates for Life Ministries and several individuals associated with the Oregon rescue community. On 2 May 1994 the United States Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of the case, effectively letting the judgment stand. It was only one of a blizzard of similar suits. The failure of rescuers either to make restitution or to cease their activities provoked the application of the RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) statute against members of the rescue community. An early RICO suit was filed by the National Organization of

Women against the father of organized rescue in America, Joseph Scheidler of the Pro-Life Action League in Chicago.[30] The suit, dismissed by both the Federal District Court and the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals was, to the surprise of many legal observers, upheld by the Supreme Court in 1994. Conversely, the rescue community evinced no surprise whatever.[31] The barrage of civil litigation for them was merely of a piece with the criminal legislation which was designed at first to marginalize and later to crush the rescue movement.

The Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA) debate in 1989 and the draconian Freedom of Clinic Entrances (FACE) bill of 1994 together served to sever whatever lingering faith the rescue community might have had in the institutions of the US government. It was not always so. The administration of Ronald Reagan gave considerable hope to both the pro-life constituency and the rescuers that somehow the answer to overturning *Roe v. Wade* lay in the political process; an optimism that was perhaps unwarranted, but did serve to link the rescue community with its pro-life parent.[32] In retrospect, this illusion of official sanction seems to have served as a brake on the drift toward direct action. The clinic burnings of the early 1980s demonstrate that the use of force was already a potential court of last resort for the movement. Similarly, the administration of George Bush, less charismatic by far and less sincerely committed to the pro-life cause, at least gave the appearance of fighting a holding action in defense of the unborn.[33]

The 1992 election of Bill Clinton dashed this tenuous faith in the efficacy of the political system. In Bill and Hillary Clinton, rescuers were faced with a new political equation. The Clintons were unabashed advocates of maintaining the *Roe v. Wade* status quo and were backed by a liberal coalition which prominently featured the nemesis of the rescue message: feminists and gay advocacy groups. More, President Clinton was fully prepared to translate that commitment into policy terms, making FACE inevitable.

For their part, some rescuers expressed their horror at the specter of the Clinton presidency less in political than in theological terms. As the political aspirations of the rescue community faded, a rapid evolution took place which has considerable precedent in the history of the Christian West. That is, the current troubles were translated into theological terms and placed as part of the End Times' scenario of the Book of Revelations. One prominent feature of this apocalyptic scenario led to ongoing speculation as to whether President Clinton was in fact the literal Antichrist.[34] Indeed, the presence of the Antichrist on earth would do much to explain the failure of the Church to awaken and rally to the defense of the babies. Another more secular feature of this rapid loss of hope in American democracy was the demise of the touchstone of the political faith upon which the rescue

movement was founded: that one day the movement would emerge from its pariah status to be recognized as the successor to the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.[35]

The Freedom of Choice Act was introduced in the House of Representatives in 1989. FOCA, a bill yet to be passed, would have guaranteed a woman the right to abortion at any time and for any reason up to the point of 'viability', that is, until the point of fetal development whereby the baby could live outside the womb. While FOCA was not in itself written to terminate the activities of the rescue community, it did have the effect of demonstrating to rescuers the hostility of the American political system to the moderate pro-life message and thus confirmed the rescuers' manichaean perceptions of American culture. The declaration of war against America's death culture offered at the top of this section from the *Army of God Manual* is indicative of the impact of FOCA on the rescue community. With the controversy surrounding FOCA, the growing rift between the moderate pro-lifers and rescue grew deeper and at this writing widens by the day.

The despair evinced by that *Army of God Manual* quote is, however, most probably a product of hindsight rather than an authentic reaction to FOCA in 1992. For the rescue community as a whole, it was not until the 1994 passage of the Freedom of Clinic Entrances Act that it became unambiguously clear that the American government under the Clinton presidency had moved from general hostility to the pro-life message to a determination to destroy the rescue movement itself. That the full implications of the FACE bill only belatedly dawned on much of the rescue community may be in part due to the offer which the US Senate extended to rescue leaders to testify about their own experiences of violence and abuse at the hands of both local police departments and the deathscorts guarding the clinics.[36] Congress, however, was less concerned with violence against rescuers than that which was aimed at abortionists, in particular the killing of Dr David Gunn in Florida and the wounding of Dr George Tiller in Wichita, both in 1993.

FACE was constructed to create a so-called 'bubble zone' separating rescuers from the entrances to abortion clinics. In this, FACE was hardly innovative. For some years, municipal authorities in various locations around the country had experimented with such 'bubble' or 'no speech' zones in response to rescue activities. These local legislative and administrative efforts were in turn essentially political actions modeled on the court injunctions which clinic operators had obtained to restrain the activities of rescuers at their establishments. FACE, then, merely took this welter of local injunctions and ordinances and created from them a law which makes it a federal offense to interfere with any person seeking an

abortion and setting stiff sentencing guidelines which are crafted to deter all but the most faithful rescuers.[37] This makes it a relatively simple matter to isolate and incarcerate this remnant. As of this writing, FACE does appear to have successfully accomplished this objective.

As criminal penalties became more draconian, the number of rescuers inevitably declined. Of the faithful remnant who chose to persevere, there was an inevitable radicalization which served to divide the heretofore highly cohesive rescue community. The following section will therefore concentrate exclusively on that portion of the rescue faithful which finds no alternative to the resort to force in defense of the unborn.

II. The Resort to Force

In the atmosphere of December 1994, a John Salvi III was inevitable. His actions – random shots fired into abortion clinics that resulted in the deaths of two employees and the wounding of several others – broke the one inviolable rule of the rescue movement: do nothing which would endanger the unborn child. Salvi's written statement, put out on 4 January 1995 over the AP wires and relayed to this researcher via the Internet, reveals a young man obsessed with fears of anti-Catholic conspiracies, but it has nothing to say of abortion.[38] Yet the sudden escalation of clinic violence could not help but draw in such marginal personalities as John Salvi. There had been for some years a gradual erosion of the barriers against the resort to deadly force among some of the most radical voices in the rescue movement. More, as the apocalyptic world view of the rescue community solidified in the cauldron of the 1980s, and as the courts and the Clinton administration succeeded in criminalizing rescue and driving much of the pacifist majority to the sidelines or into the prisons, the isolated voices which had been arguing for a resort to force were brought to the fore. This section will attempt to trace that evolution.

The clinic bombers of the 1980s, people such as John Brockhoeft and Marjorie Reed, were scrupulous in their determination that the destruction of, in rescue terminology, the killing centers would be accomplished with absolutely no loss of human life. For them, the destruction of the property would be sufficient to, at least for a time, halt the slaughter of the unborn.[39] This tactic did sometimes succeed in halting abortions for a brief time. Yet in urban areas, pregnant women determined to go ahead with their decision to abort had but to make an appointment at another clinic, while even in more rural areas, it is highly unlikely that any woman was forced to carry to term against her will. Clearly, a far greater commitment to the use of force would be needed if abortion was to be stopped through violent means.

Before such a commitment could be made however, the most determined

members of the rescue community had one more psychological bridge to cross. This was the realization that not only was the American death culture beyond redemption, but that it would be necessary actively to confront the killers on their own terms. With FACE, war had been declared on the most faithful of God's people, just as since the 1973 advent of *Roe v. Wade*, a war had been declared on the unborn. If, then, it was to be war, and if the babies were to be rescued, then no legitimate option other than to take up arms in defense of the unborn remained. This realization was, however, far from immediate and remains to this day the province of a minority of the rescue community.

The internal debate that began in the late 1980s to seriously consider the resort to deadly force was conducted primarily among imprisoned rescuers – Prisoners of Christ in rescue parlance – and between these incarcerated rescuers and a handful of activists on the outside. It continued and deepened in the pages of certain rescue journals, and in book form courtesy of Michael Bray.[40] At the core of this discourse are several key themes, each of which had long been present in the literature and the internal debates of rescue. The necessary innovation in this reformulation is merely one of emphasis rather than originality. Thus, the 1960s American Civil Rights movement metaphor was supplanted by an almost exclusive focus on the holocaust, on Nazi Germany and on the resistance to that prototype of the modern culture of death.

The Third Reich and the American Holocaust

From its inception, the rescue movement was not loathe to publicize the marked parallel which they perceived between the Nazi policy of genocide against the Jews and others in Europe and the slaughter of millions of babies yet in the womb.[41] Indeed, Randall Terry's optimistic first book, *Operation Rescue*, has the slogan '*You* can stop the abortion holocaust in America!' emblazoned on its back cover. In this early pacifist period, the rescue movement reached back into this period of history for its two great heroes: Corrie Ten Boom and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Both resisted the Nazi government's genocidal policies on religious grounds, and both suffered greatly for their actions. Yet as the movement's mood darkened, it was increasingly to the example of Bonhoeffer that the rescuers turned. Rescue's interpretation of both of these heroes is instructive in tracing the movement's turn from pacifism to violence.

Corrie Ten Boom's stature derives from her efforts to protect Jews from Nazi occupation forces in wartime Holland. Her witness was solidly based on biblical grounds and utterly non-violent. Her eventual arrest and incarceration in the Ravensbruck concentration camp is posited by rescuers as analogous to their suffering in the jails and prisons of America; an

opportunity to share God's Word of ultimate hope with fellow inmates and guards alike. Yet concomitant with the drift of the faction of rescue which would opt for or support direct action, the example of Corrie Ten Boom's non-violent attempt to rescue the Jews would be devalued in comparison with Dietrich Bonhoeffer's resort to direct action against Adolf Hitler.[42]

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–45), the distinguished German bishop and theologian whose resolute opposition to Hitler and the barbarism of the Nazi state would lead to his execution for his involvement in the wartime plot to assassinate the Fuehrer, is today the undisputed model for emulation of the Defensive Action wing of the rescue movement. Indeed, so intense is this lionization that a distinct form of hagiography is beginning to appear in the rescue literature which appears to elevate Bonhoeffer almost to Christ-like stature:

> The Lord Our God has always been ultimately in control! Bonhoeffer was executed before you were born. The Lord could have kept him from it. Bonhoeffer was willing to die defending others. He volunteered to die! He became more powerful in death than in life! Had he survived the war, Christianity and the world may have forgotten him. Do not rob him of his voluntary and glorious sacrifice! Do not rob us of the legacy he handed down to us![43]

Bonhoeffer's actions, however, were not undertaken on a whim, nor were they permissible in any but the most dire situations. Indeed, in one of Bonhoeffer's earliest essays, political action by the Church is specifically prohibited in all but the most dire historical circumstances:

> [the church] recognizes the absolute necessity of the use of force in this world, and also the moral injustice of certain concrete acts of the state which are necessarily bound up with the use of force. The church cannot in the first place exert absolute direct political action, for the church does not pretend to have any knowledge of the necessary courses of history. Thus, even today, in the Jewish question, it cannot address the state directly and demand of it some definite action of a different nature.[44]

Given the grim social and political climate facing rescuers today, it is little wonder that many of this community would identify their own travails with Bonhoeffer's gradual drift from a Romans 13 style subordination to state authority to a suicidal attempt to excise from the world the radical evil of Adolf Hitler's regime through the use of deadly force. Thus the current hagiographic treatment of Bonhoeffer in the rescue literature, and thus too the demand for Bonhoeffer's original writings by many in the rescue community. Shelley Shannon, for example, recalls reading several of

Bonhoeffer's books during her evolution toward Defensive Action.[45] In essence, many rescuers have come to see the world around them as precisely analogous to that of Dietrich Bonhoeffer: society has become literally satanic, sanctioning the mass extermination of helpless human beings and the only just response of God's church is to recognize that in contemporary America a state of war exists between good and evil, between the servants and collaborators of the abortion culture and the people of God, and to act accordingly.

The Imagery of War

The road leading from the rescue movement's 20 years of fruitless non-violent witness to the *Army of God Manual*'s declaration of war against 'the child killing industry of Amerika' is not so long as it would appear on first glance. Like the remarkably similar declaration of war against ZOG [Zionist Occupation Government] issued by Robert Mathews and the Order, the manichaean imagery of a beleaguered remnant under siege by the forces of a decayed and utterly irredeemable culture were present in the discourse of rescue virtually from its inception.[46] Once again, the mark of the rescuers who would adopt or condone the resort to force is merely one of degree rather than innovation. More, it would not be long before the state of war between the 'Defensive Action' wing of rescue and the dominant culture would engulf the rescue movement itself. Thus, the disavowal of rescue violence by such rescue leaders as Randall Terry or the current Operation Rescue leader Flip Benham would be posited as weak, cowardly and effeminate at best, treasonous at worst.[47] This is the state of the rescue movement today.

John Brockhoeft states this proposition simply and eloquently: 'abortion is a war crime which means that our nation has been in a state of war since 1973'.[48] In a 26 November 1994 interview published in the rescue literature, Paul Hill, currently under a sentence of death for killing a Florida abortionist and his volunteer bodyguard, sees no need to expound on the state of war between rescue and the death culture. It is a given fact of life: 'In every war, men have been willing to go out and risk death, or separation from their families, to defend their country and their neighbors... I've done the same thing.'[49] And in times of war, such primary Christian values as love and charity – values which are at the heart of the rescue movement – are too often allowed to fall by the wayside:

> There are very few (that I know of) who are my enemies on a strictly personal basis (perhaps no more than one or two). In accordance with Jesus' mandate, I do love those enemies and pray for them. But during this time of war, this time of grave national crisis, I do not love any

> member of this reprobate anti-Christ nation within our borders which wages war against my people.[50]

With the certainty that the contemporary United States is but a mannered reincarnation of Nazi Germany, that the abortion holocaust is merely a continuation of the Nazi Holocaust, and that the death culture would stop at nothing in its unceasing war against the faithful remnant of God's people, the transformation of a faction of the rescue movement from a pacifist witness with a deep and abiding faith in the efficacy of the American system and the transforming power of God's Church into a movement willing to take up arms was complete. Even so, the resort to lethal force was slow in coming. Rather, there was first a gradual escalation from rhetoric to the destruction of property, and this was followed by an increasing personalization of the struggle as the rescue message, driven from the abortuary door, would increasingly come to encamp on the sidewalk of the abortionist's home. Prayer too began to change, as the Missionaries to the Preborn in Milwaukee pioneered the use of imprecatory prayer to call down the wrath of God onto the head of the abortionist, beseeching God either to change his heart or to take his life.[51] At last, despairing of the efficacy of non-violent witness, convinced of their persecution by the courts and of their victimization through extraordinary violence from police and clinic guards, and facing an administration in Washington determined to protect abortion access by the criminalization of rescue activities, the rescue movement faced an intractable dilemma. Nevertheless, it took Michael Griffin, a peripheral figure in the world of rescue, to force the movement to make such a decision. That evolution is the focus of the remainder of this study.

Toward Lethal Force

> *The more the authorities take our legal redress away the more compelling to do more drastic measures. It is going to get a whole lot worse. Blood will be shed [and] not just the babies' blood either.* [letter from imprisoned female clinic arsonist][52]

Despite the violence at clinics, despite the taunts of the ubiquitous deathscorts and the all too frequent violence of the police and the prisons, and in the face of an increasingly hostile public climate, the rescue message until the late 1980s remained one of reverence for all human life – born and unborn. Beneath the surface, however, there were other stirrings. While angry words on both sides of the clinic door were slowly dehumanizing the dreaded 'other' for all concerned, there was even among the most pacific of rescuers a marked ambivalence toward the use of force at levels below

that which would physically harm even the most culpable of human beings.

First, there was the destruction of property. In this, there was a rapid escalation which would be typical of all aspects of the rescue movement in the 1980s. It began innocuously enough with, of all people, that most pacifist of rescuers, Joan Andrews. Her crime was to unplug a suction machine in the course of a rescue. The legal penalties she would pay for this futile if deeply symbolic act confirmed to her and others both the manichaean nature of the present day culture of the United States and, on a purely pragmatic level, that the penalties for doing far greater damage to the property of the child killing industry could be no more harsh than that for merely pulling a plug. So why not take a hammer or a tube of glue next time and destroy the hated killing device all together? At least the clinic would have to obtain a replacement at some considerable expense, and perhaps the brief down time faced by the clinic would result in the saving of a child's life. From the destruction of equipment, it was but a small step to entering a clinic in the dead of night intent on wreaking the greatest possible damage on equipment, furnishings and patient records. In the world of rescue in those pre-Clinton days, it was thought that no price would be too high to pay for the life of a single child. Thus, even during the clinic's working hours, it was not unusual for rescuers, having got past the clinic door, to find various ways of disabling equipment. From the destruction of equipment, it was only a short step to the next innovation of the rescuer's craft: butyric acid and the attempt to make clinics uninhabitable by the introduction of noxious odors.[53]

As the clinic confrontations sharpened and the perceptions of the rescuers grew ever darker, there was a rapid increase in the sophistication of the tactics employed on both sides. What had begun as low level, non-violent localized skirmishes soon became more coordinated actions taking place on an increasingly national scale as both sides began to form networks to share information, intelligence and experiences. Thus for example, at roughly the same time that local police departments began the routine use of pain compliance techniques, rescuers adopted the crawl – a slow, inexorable procession of rescuers on their hands and knees seeking to crawl under police barricades and, if need be, between the legs of policemen in an effort to get to the clinic door while imitating as closely as possible the helplessness of the baby. It was at this time of tactical experimentation that Joseph Scheidler published his remarkable *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion* which, until the appearance of the *Army of God Manual*, served as the primary source of rescue tactics.[54]

So important is this increasing identification of the rescuers with the babies in the resort to force that it is deserving of some attention. In the early stages of this research, it became clear that some imprisoned rescuers were convinced that they had heard the cries of unborn babies from within

the walls of the abortion clinic. Shelley Shannon certainly did, although she is somewhat reticent about saying so publicly, and the notes and letters of other rescuers bear this out as well. This intensely mystical sense of unity with the unborn explains much of the turn to increasing levels of violence among some of the most committed rescuers, for to hear the cry of a single, helpless child about to lose his or her life acts as a powerful goad to action.[55] The kind of political and public relations calculations so dear to the hearts of the pro-life movement pale in comparison to the distress of that one, single child so in need of help. Thus the often frantic nature of some rescues. Thus, too the often extravagant means employed by rescuers to merely delay the business of a targeted clinic – Kryptonite bicycle locks giving way to incredibly complex devices into which a rescuer will lock himself until the fire department or other emergency service is able to cut him loose for example.[56]

It was this intense identification with the babies which at last goaded John Brockhoeft to abandon peaceful protest and to become one of the early clinic bombers. In order to overcome his fear of being caught and imprisoned, indeed, as a necessary prerequisite to for the first time in his life stepping outside the law, Brockhoeft concentrated on his total identification with the babies:

> I put myself in the baby's place, reminding myself that I had to love that baby as myself. 'My arms will be torn away from my torso tomorrow! My skull will be crushed until fragments cave inward and cut into my brain!' I imagined how terrible the physical pain would be! I thought of my right arm being dismembered, and as I thought of it, I bore in mind that my arm would not be taken off cleanly with a sharp surgical instrument while under anesthesia. No, it would be brutally torn out of the shoulder socket and twisted off! It would hurt so bad! But I did not think only of the terrible physical pain. I imagined the terrible mental horror and terror of looking at my right shoulder, and my right arm is gone! And blood is gushing out of where it had been!... If I, like the baby, was going to suffer so much and then die tomorrow morning, and I knew I was being killed unjustly, I would not be too afraid to go to the death chamber with gasoline and destroy it tonight.[57]

The mid-1980s marked the high point of the clinic bombings.[58] There was a natural progression from the destruction of instruments to the incineration of buildings. It was simply a matter of the economy of scale. If the destruction of equipment would cripple a clinic for a day or two, and if butyric acid would be good for a week or so, how much more effective would be the total destruction of a facility? And if caught, how much

harsher the penalty? Certainly, the rescue community was loath to speak ill of the clinic arsonists, given the demonstrable effectiveness of their actions and their extraordinary care that no person be harmed by the clinic fires.[59]

Every first time prisoner receives an education behind bars for which no college could have prepared him or her. For rescuers, these lessons were largely spiritual – the jails and prisons of America were of primary importance in the formation of the apocalyptic millenarian *Zeitgeist* of the rescue movement today. These lessons could be of more worldly import as well. One imprisoned rescuer for example writes:

> We also learn a lot in jail, and are able to teach a lot. For instance, since I have been here I've learned the one last piece of info I needed to have a complete knowledge of pipe bombs (not that I will ever need or use that info). I've taught a very lot of people much about abortion and/or bombs. I wasn't sure that was wise, but it gets boring. I've become friends with gang members and others. I make it a point to be sure that robbers find out that most killing centers charge 'cash only' and *lots* of it, and the fact that abortionists tend to carry large amounts of 'cash only' home with them at night. It's true that we learn a lot of things we never wanted to know while in jail. But also learned in jail was: destroying fingerprints with WD40, knocking out plexiglas with a mallet or how to cut through it, 'bullet proof' isn't really, lots of other stuff. I fully intend to get a great deal out of all jail or prison time that I serve, as far as stopping abortion.[60]

The clinic arsons did have some local effect on the availability of abortions. The cost, however, was high. The bombers turned out to be amateurs and were rather easily rounded up and incarcerated. Even a Vietnam veteran such as John Brockhoeft found that military training was poor preparation for the world of the urban guerrilla. The prison experience, however, had a powerful radicalizing effect on the bombers, and it took little time for the lessons learned in the prisons to be communicated to the rescue community as a whole. These lessons were communicated among rescuers through letters and personal visits – indeed, Shelley Shannon made pilgrimages to visit such incarcerated clinic bombers as John Brockhoeft – and were facilitated through the regular publication of prisoner lists through such ministries as the Milwaukee-based Prisoners of Christ.[61]

As the apocalyptic mindset of the rescuers became increasingly fixed in the early 1990s, incarcerated clinic arsonists were already debating the heretofore unthinkable: a turn to lethal violence. One such Prisoner of Christ, in a remarkable series of letters written in this period to a fellow rescuer, offers a microcosmic view of this rapid evolution. It may be safely posited that this prisoner – in another life a midwestern housewife – reflects

much of her prison experience in her various stratagems (or in her own terms, 'fiendish plots'). Some of the earliest of these are at best rudimentary. Such a non-starter was a plan to free pro-life prisoners: 'Wherever there is a prison that is holding pro-lifers ... the town nearest to the prison that has an abortion mill, hammer it until they close down [then] picket the Bureau of Prisons headquarters demanding release of our hostages.'[62] Within a year, this Prisoner's ideas would become increasingly sophisticated, culminating in a 16-page manifesto in which the resort to deadly force is seriously broached.

Despite the ominous mood of the rescue community, however, it would not be until Michael Griffin's 1993 killing of David Gunn that the resort to lethal force would move from internal debate to actuality.

Ten Boom or Bonhoeffer?

When Michael Griffin, at best a peripheral member of the rescue community, shot and killed Florida abortionist David Gunn, his act was portrayed in the public arena as if a dam had burst and a torrent of pent up rage was unleashed by the pro-life movement. In short order, Shelley Shannon shot and wounded a Milwaukee doctor whose late term abortion practice and combative stance toward the rescue movement had made him for many rescuers the caricature of the predatory abortionist, George Tiller. Then Paul Hill shot and killed another Florida abortionist, John Britton, and his volunteer bodyguard. All within the space of two years. Lesser known was Alabama abortionist George Patterson, shot to death in an apparent robbery attempt as he was leaving a pornographic movie house in Mobile, Alabama, in 1994. Lesser known still is the shooting of a Canadian abortionist, Garson Romalis, in his home while his wife and daughters were present. While no suspect has been apprehended, the Canadian government is proceeding on the assumption that a member of the rescue community is responsible, and is acting accordingly.[63]

Yet for the shooters themselves, and indeed for the rescue community as a whole, the underlying motivations for the resort to lethal force had little to do with anger. In fact, the passages in 'America's Last Prophetic Witness' which came in for the most criticism among rescuers dealt with the unquestioned acceptance by this researcher of the proposition that Michael Griffin acted from some sense of inarticulate rage. Rather, Shelley Shannon gently suggested:

> Now you have me curious. Do you think that I was angry, hateful, or in a rage when I shot Tiller? There were witnesses, also when M. G. [Michael Griffin] shot & killed the FL mass murderer. From what I read, mainly in Life Advocate, he (Michael) seemed peaceful &

> calmly turned himself in. Now he doesn't remember shooting him, unfortunately. I promise you, Michael is an extremely godly person.[64]

Shelley Shannon was quite correct in her criticism. Rage had little to do with the turn to violence against human beings among a few rescuers. Rather, there was as we have seen a rapid intensification among even the most determinedly pacifist of rescuers of an apocalyptic millenarian mindset which diagnosed the current epidemic of child killing as of a piece with the timeless war of Satan against the people of God, save that now that age old battle was reaching its apogee and thus its inevitable conclusion. With such a *Zeitgeist*, it was no great leap to accept that America was at war – and that the most helpless victims of this war are the unborn. Schooled in the brutality of the streets and the jails, identifying ever more intensely with the babies in the womb, finding ever more convincing parallels between the German National Socialist state of the 1930s and the America of the 1990s, and at last with true interposition legislated virtually out of existence, it was little wonder that there were voices in the rescue movement calling for more resolute action to halt the holocaust. The signs of this change were there for all to see. A theology of violence was already evolving. More, the rescue community as a whole was, almost imperceptibly, edging ever closer to an acceptance of the proposition that there could be found a solid, biblical basis for the resort to deadly force. The death of David Gunn was in this sense less an epochal event in the history of rescue than the culmination of a process already too far advanced for anyone to stop.

In small ways, the deep reverence for all human life had begun to fray among some members of the rescue community. Imprecatory prayer, highly controversial in rescue circles, was one such step. While calling upon God to act against a human being could in one sense absolve the faithful of responsibility for the resulting actions, in a deeper sense this imprecation may be said to constitute a call to blood vengeance which seems far from the spirit of contemporary Christianity. More tangible was the widespread adoption by rescuers of Joseph Scheidler's call to 'adopt an abortionist'. This program brought the nonviolent rescue witness from the doors of the clinic to the homes of the abortionists themselves. The goal was to apprise the families and neighbors of the favored abortion provider of the manner in which the doctor made his living. The tactic was occasionally successful in persuading the abortionist to find other employment, but again on another level, the program both personalized the confrontation and diminished the private space needed by both sides to decompress from the constant pressure of the abortion conflict.[65] In these and other small ways, the seeds of violence were present in the rescue world for some time. FACE, however, may have been the defining moments.

A primary factor in assuring almost 20 years of non-violent rescue was the intense identification of the rescuer with the babies. The Lambs of Christ, for example, identify themselves when arrested as Baby Doe, while Father Norman Weslin was called Father Doe. The actions of these and other rescuers were, to the greatest degree possible, modeled on an imitation of the helplessness of the baby in the womb. A practical aspect of this identification is the belief in rescue circles that to save a baby – even one baby – is a miracle and thus the confirmation of God's blessing on the rescue endeavor. To save that one baby was in fact worth almost any price which could be paid by the rescuer, and it was this intense identification with each unborn child which allowed the rescuer to live with the guilt of not having been able to prevent, in rescue parlance, the murder of the rest of the almost 4,400 babies which rescuers hold to be the average daily casualty rate of the American abortion holocaust. Ironically, as long as true rescue through interposition was possible, the rescue community was largely deaf to those among its number who called for more resolute action. To save one baby was of such great importance that to risk long-term incarceration was seen as counterproductive. Who then would be left to save the baby whose life would be terminated tomorrow? Or the day after?

FACE changed these calculations. Interposition would with the stroke of a pen be legislated out of existence. If a second or third arrest for non-violent rescue had the same price as, say, manslaughter, well... To a determined minority of rescuers, the choice was both stark and, given all that had gone before, remarkably easy to make. If Corrie Ten Boom's non-violent witness would not be tolerated by the death culture, what was left other than the example of Dietrich Bonhoeffer? This realization brought to the fore of the internal rescue debate the 'absolutism' of John Brockhoeft and the Defensive Action theory of Paul Hill.

Absolutism, like Paul Hill's Defensive Action theory, rests on a strongly biblical foundation and reflects a deeply held apocalyptic millenarian worldview. For both however, the resort to deadly force against abortionists has a pragmatic surface which complements its millenarian core. On a purely pragmatic level, the killing of one abortionist has the anticipated effect both of saving every baby scheduled to die that day and of persuading abortionists everywhere to find another means of livelihood. Medical students tempted to enter the profession too are expected to think twice before accepting employment in an abortion clinic. In this respect, the absolutist wing of the movement has opted for true terrorism, although this choice is most often cloaked in the mantle of justifiable homicide intended solely for self defense and the defense of family members or neighbors from imminent, deadly peril.

On a tactical level, this strategy has an undeniable efficacy. Abortionists

have been frightened into closing their practices, and young doctors willing to take up the mantle are increasingly few and far between.[66] Despite this short term utility however, the resort to deadly force has not yet found the favor of the majority of rescuers and it horrifies the broad pro-life constituency. Aside from moral considerations, these opponents point to the undeniable fact that the turn to violence has brought disaster on the movement in the form of punitive legislation. More, after the highly publicized killings of abortion doctors, the political climate has become increasingly hostile, making the dream of overturning *Roe v. Wade* more distant than ever. This argument too has undeniable efficacy, but it is at this point that the movement's core millenarianism becomes most evident. What care millenarians, after all, for the long term political implications of their actions? As John Brockhoeft so eloquently points out: 'if we do not act now to halt the slaughter, God will act for us! When He returns, sword of vengeance in hand, what profit will be the most prescient of political stratagems?'

Absolutism and Defensive Action

> *The only possible way future historians will fail to see 1993–1994 as a turning point in the Abortion War is if we do not <u>have</u> any more history, due to having been swept away by the cup of God's wrath. And if this divine judgment falls on our nation, it will be not <u>only</u> because of a few hundred wicked people shedding the innocent blood of babies. It will be because of the 150,000,000 Americans going around proclaiming the name of Jesus Christ and being LUKEWARM AT THE SAME TIME!* [John Brockhoeft][67]

Michael Griffin's killing of David Gunn was an epiphany for John Brockhoeft. His 'Brockhoeft Report' was intended as a book which was hand written a chapter at a time from his prison cell. Griffin's act fit perfectly with 'The Brockhoeft Report's' apocalyptic millenarian interpretation of abortion and what abortion portends for contemporary American culture.[68] Taken together, Brockhoeft calls his view absolutism, and absolutism brooks absolutely no compromise with the American death culture. Absolutism springs from a total identification with the babies, and every person, every act, is judged with reference to the abortion issue.

For Brockhoeft, America is undeniably at war with the faithful remnant of Christians who would dare to stand against its killing industry. Satan is unambiguously involved in this war, and any action which deals a blow to Satan's murderous henchmen, the abortionists of America, is a laudable act in and of itself. For Brockhoeft, history is approaching its denouement where it is preordained that the people of God will be assured of power – either

through their own actions, or as a consequence of the return of the Lord.

When that day comes, there will be a reckoning. All who were culpable, either by active participation in the abortion holocaust or by passive acquiescence to it, are in some measure guilty of a war crime, and a Nuremberg-like tribunal will be instituted to try these miscreants and to mete out punishments commensurate with the gravity of their crimes against the unborn:

> Believe now! Repent now! And know this: that if the brave among those who proclaim His name are too few to assume authority through their own (blessed by God) exertions, then the Lord Jesus Christ will soon return and install the few in office through almighty, irresistible power. Either way, unless you repent, there is no hope for you to escape. When the Lord came 2,000 years ago it was as a lamb, gentle, to show mercy. This time it will be to show justice.[69]

Thus, every woman who has had an abortion, every man who knowingly facilitated an abortion, will face capital charges and, if guilty, will pay the ultimate price.

Paul Hill's Defensive Action theories, no less Bible-centered than John Brockhoeft's absolutism, eschews grandiose millenarian proclamations in favor of a more pragmatic formulation of the problem. In the wake of Michael Griffin's resort to force, Hill's writings reflected the same sense of excitement as did those of John Brockhoeft. Unlike Brockhoeft, however, Hill was free to take decisive action, and, indeed, it was Griffin's act which ultimately convinced Hill to move from rhetoric to action. Indeed, once Griffin had shown the way, no careful reader of the rescue literature could have mistaken Hill's intent, nor could there have been any doubt as to the identity of the intended target. As early as September 1993, the *Life Advocate* ran a detailed story of the covert operation by which Paul Hill, John Burt, Don Gratton and Floyd Murray identified John Britton as David Gunn's replacement. According to John Burt, 'As suspected, the new killer in Pensacola is another of those bottom-feeders on the food chain... He is a circuit riding abortionist named John Bayard Britton of Fernandina Beach'.[70]

Paul Hill's Defensive Action statement, issued in the wake of the killing of David Gunn, today serves as a primary source of suspects for the current Portland Grand Jury's conspiracy inquiry.[71] The statement itself is deceptively simple. Issued concurrently with the Defensive Action declaration however, were a series of detailed scriptural studies which serve as the biblical foundation for Hill's resort to force. The original statement reads:

> We, the undersigned, declare the justice of taking all godly action necessary to defend innocent human life including the use of force. We proclaim that whatever force is legitimate to defend the life of the born child is legitimate to defend the life of an unborn child.
>
> We assert that if Michael Griffin did in fact kill David Gunn, his use of lethal force was justified provided it was carried out for the purpose of defending the lives of unborn children. Therefore, he ought to be acquitted of the charges against him.[72]

While the press and public concentrated on the implications of Hill's statement of support for Michael Griffin, movement literature gave considerably more attention to the more detailed expositions issued by Hill through the Defenders of the Defenders of Life Ministry in Bowie, Maryland. These are carefully reasoned treatises utilizing biblical proof texts (Exodus, Acts and Numbers are particularly cited) to support each point. Of this material, perhaps the most accessible is his 1994 essay, 'Should We Defend Born and Unborn Children With Force?'[73]

This essay systematically examines every facet of the Defensive Action argument; that is, for the resort to force in defense of the unborn. Hill opens his case by maintaining that there is an essential distinction between the wisdom of using deadly force to save babies and the justice of the action. Perhaps in his view, the pro-lifers are correct that in the current climate, it is not politically wise to use force, given the costs of taking the action both to the individual rescuer and to the wider pro-life cause. But in the eyes of God and by the laws of man, it is just to rescue those unjustly condemned to a violent and terrible death, and justice must outweigh the wisdom of political expediency when a precious human life hangs in the balance.

Reverend Hill then makes a biblical case for Defensive Action. Based on numerous proof texts, he concludes:

> *There is no question that deadly force should be used to protect innocent human life...* If you dispute this clear teaching of the Bible you will have assumed the unbearable burden of having to prove the justice of using force to protect the born, but not the unborn. *You can no more deny your responsibility to defend the unborn with force than you can deny the good Samaritan's responsibility to aid the wounded and the dying traveler.*[74]

Hill's ethical basis for Defensive Action is strongly millenarian. Citing the example of Phineas, he asserts that the individual has an over-riding ethical responsibility to do all in his power to turn God's just wrath from the American people:

> *Though sin has fanned God's righteous anger to a searing blaze, the*

> *shedding of guilty blood has cooled the flame and saved the people from destruction.*[75]

What follows is a learned disputation answering ten objections to Defensive Action theory. Then, with odes to Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Phineas, Hill argues for the duty of waging a just war, for taking up arms in a just cause, and concludes with a call to action which is strongly reminiscent of the Posse Comitatus theory of the radical right wing:

> As we put our convictions into concrete actions, millions who are indifferent to abortion or accepting it as expedient will be forced to reconsider... When this occurs, the time will have arrived for the lower civil magistrate and those in positions of power to call the multitudes to unified action.[76]

Reverend Hill concludes with the prophesy that Defensive Action will ultimately succeed in stopping the abortion holocaust. This felicitous outcome rests on the twin foundations of an unbounded faith in the basic goodness of the American people and faith in the certainty of divine intervention on the side of the faithful remnant:

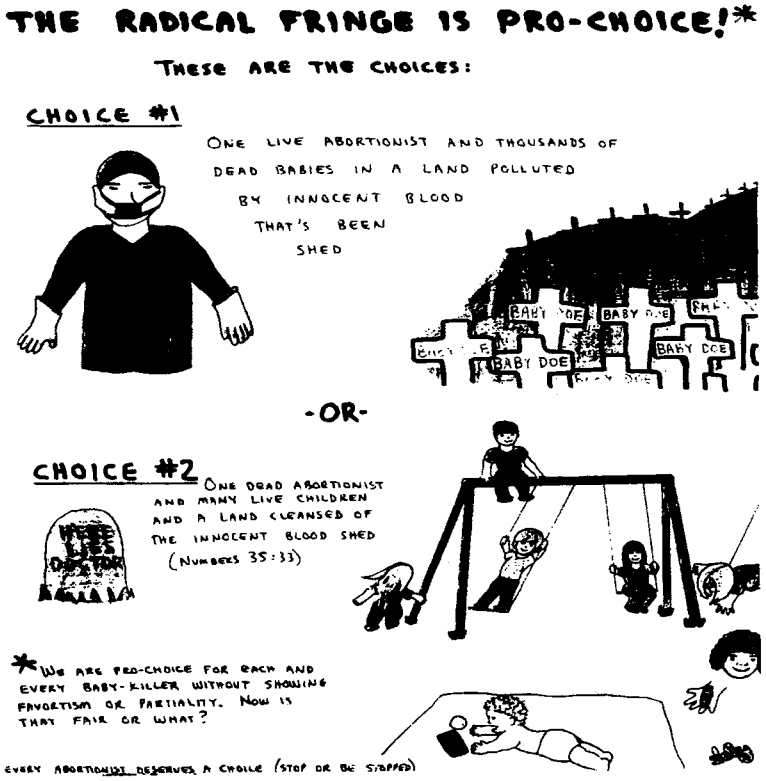
> There is an ultimate shock and horror that comes from considering that the death of Dr Gunn may have been justified. Once this shock has passed, the truth and duties involved will have an abiding effect. *These truths will grip men's minds and not release them from their duties.* Men will be forced to admit their horrendous neglect and will respond with zealous repentant hearts... *If we will but act in true repentance and faith God will bless our zealous but feeble efforts with abundant success.* Therefore, we must act in a decisive and timely manner.[77]

The Rescue Movement Today

> *Paul Hill and I have been writing. He's doing great. Thank the Lord! Some Christians are publicly saying he sinned in what he did, that he's a murderer, and even that he 'acted as Satan's agent'. That's blasphemous since he more accurately could be described as acting as God's agent. I'm totally convinced that God called Paul to do what he did, and he obeyed, while Christ went before, opened doors, prepared the way, and worked everything out. Whether or not we are willing to accept the truth of it, God himself kills people, so it can't always be wrong [Gen. 38:7, 10; Ex. 12:29; Acts 12:21–23]. God has people kill people [Ex. 32:26–28], and He has approved of some killing [Numbers 25; 1 Sam. 2:25]. To say that killing is always sinful is to call God sinful. God, however, does not approve of the shedding of innocent blood (murder), including the slaughter of defenseless*

little babies. Protecting babies, stopping the murders of the innocent, is right and just, even if it takes the use of force to do so. I certainly won't condemn Paul Hill. Shelley Shannon[78]

FIGURE I
CARTOON BY SHELLEY SHANNON, 1994


THE RADICAL FRINGE IS PRO-CHOICE!*
THESE ARE THE CHOICES:
CHOICE #1
ONE LIVE ABORTIONIST AND THOUSANDS OF DEAD BABIES IN A LAND POLLUTED BY INNOCENT BLOOD THAT'S BEEN SHED
BABY DOE
BABY DOE
BABY DOE
-OR-
CHOICE #2
ONE DEAD ABORTIONIST AND MANY LIVE CHILDREN AND A LAND CLEANSED OF THE INNOCENT BLOOD SHED (NUMBERS 35:33)
*WE ARE PRO-CHOICE FOR EACH AND EVERY BABY-KILLER WITHOUT SHOWING FAVORITISM OR PARTIALITY. NOW IS THAT FAIR OR WHAT?
EVERY ABORTIONIST DESERVES A CHOICE (STOP OR BE STOPPED)

Note: Numbers 35:33 reads:
Do not pollute the land where you are. Bloodshed pollutes the land, and atonement cannot be made for the land on which blood has been shed, except by the blood of the one who shed it.

The resort to lethal force has split the rescue community, it has further distanced that community and its prophetic witness from the mainstream pro-life coalition, and it has allowed the courts and the Clinton administration to move against the rescue movement with such force as to make true rescue an all but suicidal enterprise. In response, the rescuers who have opted for Defensive Action, or who have lent public support to it, are increasingly isolated within the rescue community and estranged from the dominant culture. Symptomatic of this isolation is the intense bonding which links rescuers imprisoned for acts of violence. Shelley Shannon, John

Brockhoeft and Paul Hill, for example, lionize each other in their public writings and pronouncements. For Shelley Shannon in particular, this intense cult of devotion has been problematic. Shelley Shannon's public and private writing reveals a woman of great sincerity, piety, and most striking, humility. Her occasional remonstrations against these public affirmations of adoration have led to some highly emotional reactions – in particular from John Brockhoeft.[79]

At the same time, the threat of violence has had some deterrent effect on individual abortionists. This atmosphere of fear has had some short term utility to even the most non-violent of souls in the rescue community. Thus, when Joseph Foreman's post-Missionaries to the Preborn venture, The American Coalition of Life Activists, released a 'dirty dozen' list of abortionists, there was consternation among federal authorities, pro-choice activists, and presumably, among the abortionists themselves.[80]

This minor success pales, however, in light of the fact that such public relations maneuvers are being taken in lieu of active rescues. It would be a tragic irony if the primary casualty of the turn to Defensive Action would prove to be the rescue movement itself.

NOTES

I would like to thank members of the rescue community – in particular Shelley Shannon – for their support and assistance in this project. Thanks are due as well to Prof. David C. Rapoport for his encouragement at the genesis of this research, to the editorial patience of Prof. Michael Barkun, and to Doug Milford for his comments and suggestions.

1. Letter to author from Shelley Shannon, written from her home in Grants Pass, Oregon, almost two months before her arrest for shooting abortionist George Tiller in Wichita. The comment was made in the context of her disdain for the numerous lawsuits resulting from her involvement in non-violent rescue activities.
2. Jeffrey Kaplan, 'America's Last Prophetic Witness: The Literature of the Rescue Movement', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5/3 (Autumn 1993), pp.58–77.
3. For a rare candid discussion of the problem in the rescue literature, see Rev. Bruce Evan Murch, 'Is Rescue Dead ... And If So, What Do We Do Now?' *Life Advocate* (Sept. 1994), pp.33, 40. Cf. David J. Garrow, 'Clinic Violence a Sure Sign Anti-Abortion Movement is Dying', *Anchorage Daily News*, 15 Jan. 1995, J4.
4. For the purposes of this research, the mainstream pro-life movement is treated as distinct from the rescue movement. The mainstream pro-life movement is composed of local and national organizations, with the National Right to Life perhaps playing the most prominent role. The pro-life movement functions as an umbrella for a broad spectrum of viewpoints, but is distinguished by its commitment to pursuing its goals through established legal and political channels. Rescue conversely was founded in conscious imitation of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in which peaceful albeit extra-legal civil disobedience would be the primary avenue of protest.
5. The term 'pariah' was first applied to the rescue movement in 1989 by the only civil libertarian to have taken note of the unusually harsh treatment of rescuers and the remarkable silence of such champions of the right to protest as the American Civil Liberties Union. Nat Hentoff, '"Pain Compliance" Amounts to Torture', *The Advocate* 5/5 (Dec. 1989), p.15, repr. from undated issue of the *State Journal*, Lansing, Michigan.

6. Interview with Joe Scheidler, 2 Feb. 1993.
7. John Brockhoeft, 'The Brockhoeft Report 12', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Dec. 1993), pp.5–7. The reference to a 'lukewam church' is drawn from Revelation 3:15–16, 'I know your deeds, that you are neither cold nor hot. I wish you were either one or the other! So, because you are lukewarm – neither hot nor cold – I am about to spit you out of my mouth.'
8. Letter to author from Shelley Shannon, 24 Sept. 1994. Cf. 'Did She Aim for His Arms?' *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (March 1994), p.44; and Spencer Heinz, 'Praying With Fire: The Genesis of Shelley Shannon', *The Sunday Oregonian*, 14 Nov. 1993.
9. Cathy Ramey, 'Shots Fired: Griffin's Trial in Pensacola', *Life Advocate* (April 1994), pp.12–16. Paul Hill cites Griffin's act as the key event in convincing him of the necessity of, in his terms, Defensive Action to prevent the abortionist from carrying out his purpose. See 'Paul Hill Interview: November 26, 1994', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Nov. 1994), p.43. For a diverse collection of conversion stories, Paul deParrie, *The Rescuers* (Brentwood, TN: Wolgemuth & Hyatt, 1989).
10. The best exposition of this thesis is Joseph Foreman, *Shattering the Darkness: The Crisis of the Cross in the Church Today* (Montreat, NC: Cooling Spring Press, 1992). Cf. Randall Terry, *Accessory to Murder: The Enemies, Allies and Accomplices to the Death of Our Culture* (Brentwood, TN: Wolgemuth & Hyatt, 1990) and Randy Alcorn, *Is Rescuing Right: Breaking the Law to Save the Unborn* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990).
11. John Brockhoeft, 'The Brockhoeft Report 12', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Sept. 1994), p.11.
12. This sociological generalization is drawn from my own research among imprisoned rescuers, and is confirmed by observations of the rescue community in Chicago and elsewhere. Cf. deParrie, *Rescuers* (note 9).
13. John Brockhoeft, 'The Brockhoeft Report 10', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (June 1994), p.5. The source for this view is credited to a public school history textbook; Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel McCutchen, *History of a Free People*.
14. The genesis of *Accessory to Murder* may be found in Terry's incendiary Letter from Fulton County Jail, 10 Oct. 1989. See 'Randy Terry Writes From Jail', *The Advocate* (Nov. 1989), pp.8–10. Cf. Kaplan (note 2), p.67.
15. A good, published source of these reminiscences is Josephine County Right to Life, 'Testimonies from Jailed Rescuers: Operation Rescue Siege of Atlanta – July–Oct '88'. Cf. Tom Watson, 'Abortion Opponents Charge Police Brutality, Declare 'War'', *USA Today*, 5 Oct. 1988; or 'Police Get Tough at Protest', *Atlanta Daily News*, 5 Oct. 1988.
16. The participation of homosexual activists in clinic confrontations with rescuers was noted in Kaplan (note 2), p.72 n.9. The presence of these activists as escorts was confirmed in my interview with Coleen Connell, the head of the ACLU's Reproductive Rights Project in Chicago, 14 Feb. 1993.
17. For a view from the perspective of the escorts, see Judith A. Dilrorio and Michael R. Nusbaumer, 'Securing Our Sanity: Anger Management Among Abortion Escorts', *Jnl of Contemporary Ethnography* 21/4 (Jan. 1993), pp.411–38. For a less enlightening polemic, see Faye Ginsburg, *Contested Lives: The Abortion Debate in an American Community* (Berkeley, CA: California UP, 1989).
18. For just such an explicit statement from the perspective of the Lambs of Christ, see Kaplan (note 2), p.63. 'Pro-abortion satanists' are noted as attending Shelley Shannon's trial. See Shelley Shannon, 'Shelley Shannon Trial From the Perspective of Shelley Shannon', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (April 1994), p.4.
19. Shelley Shannon, 'Toward the Use of Force', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (May 1994), p.55.
20. 'The Brockhoeft Report 1', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Dec. 1993), p.10. For a discussion of the social construction of Satanism in contemporary America, see Jeffrey Kaplan, 'Multigenerational Satanism: The Eternal Conspiracy', *American Studies* (forthcoming).
21. Rescuer Tom Herlihy ranks these cities according to the scale of police brutality and gives not overly fond reminiscences of each in an undated *New York Post* article reprinted in the Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania, newsletter, *The Rescuer*. Ray Kerrison, 'Police Brutality', *The Rescuer* 5/6 (May–June 1991), p.10. Randall Terry concurs with this list. For considerable

detail, see Terry (note 10), pp.137–68.

22. Shelley Shannon, unpub. notes, 13 Jan. 1990.
23. The events described herein have become a matter of established orthodoxy among rescuers. Prof. Michael Barkun notes that a Pittsburgh clinic escort of 'unimpeachable integrity' finds the following account to be not credible based on her own experiences in Pittsburgh, and on her knowledge of the city. This source recalls as well that Pittsburgh's heavily Catholic police force seemed in her view rather more sympathetic to the rescuers than to the escorts. She notes as well that after a break-in to the clinic in question, the clinic suffered over $20,000 in damage due to tar which was poured over the equipment and furniture. While it is the norm rather than the exception that rescuers and clinic escorts see the same events in diametrically opposite ways, and while it is impossible to find independent confirmation of these events, it is of paramount importance that rescuers believe the version of events published in the rescue and the religious literature without reservation, and react accordingly.
24. Ray Kerrison (note 21). Events in Pittsburgh are described in brief in a full page advertisement in the mainstream Catholic newspaper, *The Wanderer*. 'Sexually Molested Pro-Life Women Seek Justice: Offenders May Get Off Free', *The Wanderer*, 3 Jan. 1991, p.10. For sources in the rescue literature, see 'Pittsburgh Police Abuse Rescuers', *The Advocate* (May 1989), p.4; and 'Pittsburgh Nightmare: 'I Wish They'd Broken My Arms'', *The Advocate* (Nov. 1990), p.24.
25. Shelley Shannon, unpub. prison notes. Several testimonies from Atlanta are available to this research, but few are as reflective – and occasionally quite humorous – as those of Shelley Shannon. It is instructive of conditions in Atlanta that Shelley Shannon's notes contain an account of her arrest at her Grants Pass home almost immediately upon her return to Oregon. This incarceration is described as a pleasant holiday weekend in comparison to Atlanta's hospitality.
26. A good source for the philosophical dimensions of this split is the anti-violence consensus of pro-lifers and pacifist rescue leaders in 'Killing Abortionists: A Symposium', *First Things* 48 (Dec. 1994), pp.24–31.
27. This latest revision of the *Army of God Manual* was repr. in *The Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Dec. 1994), p.11. It is notable that the spelling of 'Amerika' strongly recalls the practice of 1960s left wing radicals at a similar stage of despair that the nation could be reformed by legal means.
28. The three proposed restrictions were: (1) The abortion must be performed in a state-accredited hospital; (2) The abortion must be approved by the hospital's abortion committee; and (3) The attending physician's medical judgement must be confirmed by independent examinations of the patient by at least two other physicians [410 US 179 or 93 S. Ct. 739]. An excellent scholarly source for the legal and political implications of the abortion controversy is Barbara Hinkson Craig and David M. O'Brien, *Abortion and American Politics* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1993). For an explicitly pro-life point of view, see Marvin Olasky, *Abortion Rites: A Social History of Abortion in America* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1992).
29. Letter from Portland, OR, legal firm to Shelley Shannon, 10 July 1992.
30. For a brief synopsis of RICO and the *Now v. Scheidler* suit, see Kaplan (note 2), pp.75–6, n.40. An earlier suit was filed in Portland, interview with Kathy Rumey, 16 Oct. 1995.
31. See 'High Court Upholds RICO', and 'Supreme Court Issues Narrow; Harmful Decision in NOW's RICO Suit', *Life Advocate* (March 1994), p.20. It is highly significant that so important a decision – a decision which made it unlikely that any rescuer could hope to have a RICO judgment overturned in the courts of America – was relegated to p.20 and was reported in brief, almost terse terms. For an earlier, somewhat more optimistic report on the occasion of the Supreme Court's agreeing to hear the suit, see 'Clinton Administration Urges Overturning NOW v. Scheidler Acquittal', *Life Advocate* (July 1993), pp.37–8.
32. Ronald Reagan, *Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation* (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1984).
33. Barbara Hinkson Craig and David M. O'Brien (note 28).
34. Interview with Fr. Norman Weslin, 5 Aug. 1993. Wonderfully illustrative photographs making the rounds in rescue circles feature Bill Clinton with a large 666 written on his forehead. A theologically dubious example has a leatherclad Bill Clinton, replete with saxophone, and

a nattily dressed Hillary against a backdrop of memorial posters for aborted babies, with both Clintons sporting 666 on their foreheads. 'Clinton Display at Picket draws Federal Attention', *Life Advocate* (Dec. 1993/ Jan. 1994), p.8. An excellent source for the political contexts into which the Antichrist has been projected through the ages is Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist* (NY: Harper San Francisco, 1994).

35. For a good capsule summary of the tactical models of early rescue from the abolitionists to the Civil Rights movement, see Phillip F. Lawler, *Operation Rescue: A Challenge to the Nation's Conscience* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1992), pp.136–41. For a brilliant analysis, see Foreman (note 10), pp.25–36.
36. 'Congress Hears Truth on Pro-Abort Violence', *Life Advocate* (July 1993), p.15.
37. 'FACE Bill Passed, Signed by Clinton', *Life Advocate* (July 1994), pp.8–9. Sentencing provisions include six months incarceration and a $10,000 fine for a first 'exclusively non-violent' offense and 18 months and a $25,000 for each additional offense thereafter.
38. After some puzzlement in rescue ranks, Salvi's statement was characterized as delusional and psychotic and Salvi himself treated as a curiosity with no connection to the rescue movement. 'Year Ends With Shootings at East Coast Abortuaries', *Life Advocate* (Feb. 1995), pp.20–22.
39. The ongoing Brockhoeft Report discusses the fires he set in abortion clinics in Ohio and Florida in considerable detail. See 'The Brockhoeft Report 1–4', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Dec. 1993), and 'The Brockhoeft Report 5–6', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Feb. 1994). Letter from Marjorie Reed, 25 Jan. 1993. Marjorie Reed, currently serving a 12-year sentence for 'aiding and abetting' a clinic arson, is considerably less well known outside rescue circles than John Brockhoeft. For a rare public appearance, see Marjorie Reed, 'Oh Please Spare Me (Or a Day Before the Grand Jury)', *Life Advocate* (Aug. 1994), p.38.
40. Michael Bray, *A Time to Kill* (Portland, OR: AFL, 1994).
41. The Nazi metaphor is common to the larger pro-life constituency as well. See C. Everett Koop, 'The Slide to Auschwitz', in Reagan (note 32), pp.41–73.
42. Corrie Ten Boom is something of a cult icon to rescuers and to other members of the evangelical subculture. She is the stuff of sermons, articles, and even comic books to inspire children. A good example of this praxis in the context of rescue is 'Kenny Sacht: A Pastor Continues to Rescue despite upheaval in His Church', *The Advocate* (Feb. 1990), p.3. For an early source positing Ten Boom and Dietrich Bonhoeffer as equivalent models for emulation, see Randall Terry, *Operation Rescue* (Springdale: Pai Whitaker House, 1988).
43. Joe Bartlett, 'Dietrich and George and the Time Machine', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (May 1994), p.15. This Christian 'science fiction' includes a paean to Shelley Shannon as a 'Bonhoeffer-like figure'.
44. Klaus Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich, Volume One: 1918–1934* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988), p.276. Scholder's two volume history is the best introduction to Bonhoeffer's theology in its historical context. For a good example of how this challenging material is distilled and disseminated to rescuers of a non-scholarly bent, see Alcorn (note 10), pp.111–16. So vital is Bonhoeffer's theology beyond the narrow worlds of rescue and evangelical Christianity that the American Academy of Religion plans to hold a panel discussion on Bonhoeffer's legacy at its 1995 meeting in Philadelphia.
45. Shelley Shannon, 'Toward the Use of Force', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (May 1994), p.55; 'Did She Aim for His Arms: Report on the Trial of Rachelle Shannon', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (March 1994), p.47. She recalls two of these titles as: *Life Together* (note 51) and *Letters and Papers From Prison*.
46. The preamble of the Order's declaration states: 'We, the following, being of sound mind and under no duress, do hereby sign this document of our own free will, stating forthrightly and without fear that we declare ourselves to be in full and unrelenting state of war with those forces seeking and consciously promoting the destruction of our faith and our race'. See Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood* (NY: Free Press, 1989), pp.357–8. Good sources for the war imagery of the early rescue movement are Randall Terry's first two books, *Operation Rescue* (note 42) and *Accessory to Murder* (note 10).
47. 'The Brockhoeft Report 15', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Jan. 1995), p.11.
48. 'The Brockhoeft Report 14', ibid. (Nov. 1994), p.54.

49. 'Paul Hill Interview' (note 9), p.42.
50. 'The Brockhoeft Report 12', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Sept. 1994), p.15. John Brockhoeft would not take this (or any other) public position without biblical warrant. In this case, his formulation is based on Ecclesiastes 3:8 'A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace'.
51. Imprecatory prayer was introduced in these pages in Kaplan (note 2), p.77, n.49. While it would be impossible to document the efficacy of this spiritual weapon, the Missionaries and other rescuers believe in its power without question. More, it should be noted that as of 1991, Milwaukee abortionists have had unusually high incidences of strokes (Drs Tarver and Woo) and sudden death (Dr Leon Gillman), all within the space of a year, and all after having been the subjects of imprecation. 'Craft Quits!: Sixth Abortionist to Stop Killing in 10 Months', *The Advocate* (May 1991), p.6. The Missionaries did not however pioneer the use of the imprecatory psalms as a weapon of war. No less a figure than Dietrich Bonhoeffer counseled:

> Can we, then, pray the imprecatory psalms? In so far as we are sinners and express evil thoughts in a prayer of vengeance, we dare not do so. But in so far as Christ is in us, the Christ who took all the vengeance of God upon himself, who met God's vengeance in our stead, who thus – stricken by the wrath of God – and in no other way, could forgive his enemies, who himself suffered the wrath that his enemies might go free – we, too, as members of this Jesus Christ, can pray these psalms, through Jesus Christ, from the heart of Jesus Christ.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, John W. Doberstein, trans. (San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1954), p.34.

52. This letter was written to a rescuer closely identified with the resort to force. The names of both the author and recipient will be withheld.
53. Joan Andrews tells her story in Joan Andrews with John Cavanaugh O'Keefe, *I Will Never Forget You* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989). Butyric acid became something of a fad among rescuers determined to close a clinic but unwilling or unable to take stemer measures. Shelley Shannon appears to have been among these *aficionados*. 'Shannon Hints at Butyric Acid Involvements', *Life Advocate* (April 1994), p.6. That the tactic remains in use today, see 'Clinic Acid Dosing Raises Fear', *Life Advocate* (Oct. 1993), p.16.
54. Joseph M. Scheidler, *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion* (Westchester, IL: Crossway, 1985). Joseph Scheidler's role in the movement is controversial. The father of the rescue movement, Scheidler felt it necessary to update his book in 1992, stressing his commitment to non-violence against persons. At the same time, Scheidler never met a rescuer or pro-lifer he did not like. Thus, he gives unqualified support and counsel to all who ask, whether they be committed pacifists, clinic bombers or those who would resort to lethal force. Thus too the interest shown in Scheidler by the current Portland Grand Jury inquiry into the possibility of a national conspiracy against the abortion industry, and so too the decision of NOW to file the flagship RICO suit against Scheidler and his Pro-Life Action League. On the conspiracy inquiry, see 'FBI Undertakes Conspiracy Inquiry Into Clinic Violence', *New York Times*, 4 Aug. 1994; and 'Abortion: Who's Behind the Violence?' *US News and World Report*, 14 Nov. 1994.
55. This intensely mystical experience of unity with the unborn appears to be evocative of the voices heard by Joan of Arc and by a long line of medieval female saints engaged in intensely emotional devotions.
56. An excellent example of the lengths to which this can go can be seen in the pretzel-like contraption employed by two rescuers in Fargo, ND. These rescuers chained themselves with Kryptonite locks into a clothes dryer, and in turn had these dryers fixed into the body of an old car with an array of chains and metal. The car was then pushed in front of the clinic door. One of the rescuers, Tim Lindgren, commented that his predicament, helplessly encased in total darkness, unable to know what was happening outside of his steel tomb, reminded him of the unborn baby in the womb. 'Rescuers Go Far in Fargo to Save Babies', *Life Advocate* (Jan. 1995), p.19.
57. 'The Brockhoeft Report 3', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Dec. 1993), p.31.

58. Movement figures have clinic bombings peaking in 1984 when 18 clinics were bombed and 11 others suffered damage from arson. These numbers sharply declined from 1985, although the numbers are in some dispute in movement literature. Kaplan (note 2), p.60. For its part, the National Abortion Federation generally agrees with these numbers, finding 1984 to be the most active year with 18 clinics bombed and 6 damaged by arson. NAF figures from 1977–91 count 34 bombings and 60 arsons. Dallas A. Blanchard, *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiery Protest* (NY: Twayne Publishers, 1994), pp.56–7.
59. For a riveting step by step account of the destruction of an abortion clinic, see 'The Brockhoeft Report 5 and 6', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Feb. 1994). For an intensely negative scholarly polemic against clinic bombers, rescuers and conservative Christians in general, see Dallas A. Blanchard and Jerry J. Prewitt, *Religious Violence and Abortion* (Gainesville, FL: Florida UP, 1993). Blanchard's vendetta is reprised in Blanchard, *The Anti-Abortion Movement* (note 58). Cf. Julie Ingersoll's review of the Blanchard and Prewitt volume in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 6/1 (Spring 1994), pp.98–100.
60. Letter to author from imprisoned rescuer, name withheld, Feb. 1994.
61. The Prisoners of Christ ministry was a function of the Missionaries to the Preborn in Milwaukee. In the wake of the split between Pastor Matt Trewellah and the Rev. Joseph Foreman, the POC newsletter has relocated with Rev. Foreman to California.
62. Name of author and recipient withheld, 1991.
63. For details of these lesser known cases, see 'Bottom of the Barrel: Abortionists – The Dregs of Society', *Life Advocate* (Nov. 1994), pp.10–14; 'Canadian Abortionist Shot', ibid. (Dec. 1994), pp.28–9; and 'Canada Targets Pro-Lifers: Media and Government Forces Seek to Destroy Pro-Life Movement', ibid. (Jan. 1995), pp.10–15.
64. Letter from Shelley Shannon, 10 June 1994. She is reacting to Jeffrey Kaplan, 'America's Last Prophetic Witness' (note 2), p.59.
65. Joseph M. Scheidler (note 54), pp.154–6. Cf. 'Taking the Battle Home: Tactics Get Tough With Abortionists', *Life Advocate* (Feb. 1994), pp.10–13. For an example of the occasional success story, see 'After Home Picket, Abortionist Quits', ibid. (July 1993), pp.18–19.
66. There is no dearth of reporting on abortionists who seek other means of livelihood out of fear of violence in the rescue literature. Typical are 'Abortionist Shooting Spurs Another to Quit', and 'Women's Center Discontinues Abortions', *Life Advocate* (Nov. 1994), pp.28, 31. For an example of the justifiable homicide argument, see Cathy Ramey, 'Strategy for the Future: The Pro-Life Exception or "By Any Means Necessary"', *Life Advocate* (July 1993), pp.66–7. On the dearth of candidates to become abortionists, see 'Abortion Clinics Search for Doctors in Scarcity', *New York Times*, 31 March 1993; and 'Planned Parenthood Starting to Train Doctors in Abortion', ibid., 19 June 1993.
67. 'The Brockhoeft Report 4', *Prayer + Action News* (Dec. 1993), p.48.
68. The ongoing 'Brockhoeft Report' is serialized in *Prayer + Action Weekly News*, where the first installment appeared in Dec. 1993. Shelley Shannon was until her arrest the original editor. Fortuitously, Dave Leach in Iowa, editor of the various *Prayer + Action Weekly News* editions, stepped forward to continue the work. Perhaps the best summaries of absolutism are contained in the Dec. 1993 edition containing 'The Brockhoeft Report 1–4', and 'The Brockhoeft Report 7', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (March 1994).
69. 'The Brockhoeft Report 7', ibid., p.19.
70. 'Florida Pro-Lifers ID Replacement for Gunn', *Life Advocate* (Sept. 1993), p.19. The term 'bottom feeder' is taken from a comic book issued by a Texas ministry portraying abortionists as the catfish-like bottom feeders of the medical profession. The comic book was mailed to students in medical schools across the country. See '"Bottom Feeder" Humor Upsets Abortionists', ibid., p.21.
71. 'FBI and BATF Start Reno-Inspired "Witchhunt"', *Life Advocate* (Oct. 1994), p.8.
72. 'Pro-Life Pastors and Leaders Declare Justice of the Use of Force', *Life Advocate* (October 1993), 18. The statement can be found as well in the *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Nov. 1994), pp.17, 19.
73. Paul J. Hill, 'Should We Defend Born and Unborn Children With Force?' *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Sept. 1994), pp.25–38. This essay was written to further clarify points made

by Rev. Hill on the occasion of his appearance on the Phil Donahue television program. A transcript of that interview can be found in 'Phil & Hill', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Aug. 1994), pp.45–8. For other useful material on Paul Hill, see: 'Paul Hill Interview (note 9), pp.42–6; Paul J. Hill, 'Who Killed the Innocent – Michael Griffin or Dr. David Gunn?' *Life Advocate* (Aug. 1993), pp.40–3; and 'An Interview With Paul Hill', ibid. (Jan. 1995), pp.26–9. On Hill's killing of John Britton and James Barrett, as well as the strong condemnation of the act from pro-life and rescue quarters, 'Hill Says, "Now is the Time...".', *Life Advocate* (Sept. 1994), pp.10–15.

74. Hill (note 73), p.27.
75. Ibid., p.28. The example of Phineas and his resort to deadly force in a successful effort to shield his people from the wrath of a justly angry God is of considerable importance to a number of contemporary American millenarian appeals. In the world of Christian Identity for example, Richard Kelly Hoskins draws on this source to posit a phantom order of avengers from the dawn of time, the Phineas Priesthood. See Richard Kelly Hoskins, *Vigilantes of Christendom* (Lynchburg, VA: Publishing Co., 1990). Cf. my review essay on the influence of this text in *Syzygy: Jnl of Alternative Religion and Culture* 1/2–3, pp.271–3.
76. Ibid., pp.36–7. The Posse Comitatus was a (very) loosely organized movement in the American heartland which rejected the legitimacy of all civil authority above the level of county sheriff. For an introduction through the perspective of the late Posse founder William Potter Gale, see Cheri Seymour, *Committee of the States: Inside the Radical Right* (Mariposa, CA: Camden Place Communications, 1991).
77. Hill (note 73), p.37.
78. Letter from Shelley Shannon, 9 Sept. 1994.
79. The intensity of this emotion can be glimpsed in 'An Open Letter From Joe Bartlett to Shelley', *Prayer + Action Weekly News* (Oct. 1994), pp.43–7. This letter, most notable for comparing Shelley Shannon to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, canonizing her and Paul Hill as movement martyrs, and excommunicating Michael Griffin from their number due to his having 'flip-flopped, compromised, betrayed his friends, and threw away his honor for nothing', was written in lieu of an installment of 'The Brockhoeft Report' due to Brockhoeft's despair at having been asked by Shelley Shannon to leave her out of his writings lest she be further glorified for her actions.
80. Those named on the list are:

Joseph Booker (Jackson, MS)	George Tiller (Andover, KS)
David Allred (Los Angeles, CA)	Warren Hern (Boulder, CO)
James and Elizabeth Newhall (Portland, OR)	Steven Kaali (Dobbs Ferry, NY)
Thomas Greysinger (Fort Washington, MD)	George Kabacy (Canby, OR)
Douglas Karpen (Houston, TX)	Howard Silverman (Boston, MA)
Paul Seamers (Oconomowok, WI)	Ulrich Klopfer (Fort Wayne, IN)

Of these, recent television news reports have singled out Joseph Booker as at greatest risk, and Mississippi rescuer and signer of Paul Hill's original Direct Action statement, Roy McMillan, as the most likely to act. On the warmth of the McMillan/Booker relationship, see 'Abortionist Accused of Pointing Gun at Crowd of Anti-Abortion Protesters', *Life Advocate* (June 1994), p.32. On the history of the ACLA and its actions in Mississippi, see 'ACLA: New National Activist Coalition Begins in Mississippi', *Life Advocate* (Oct. 1994), pp.15–18.

The Politics of the Millennium

THOMAS FLANAGAN

Politics involves conflict within the community for control over the community; it also involves conflict among communities. In either case, it provokes anxiety to which the vision of a conflict-free millennium is a response. There are three broad types of politics – monism (administration, populism, totalitarianism); dualism (total war, class or race struggle); pluralism (liberal democracy, constitutional regimes). Millenarian movements are monistic in their view of the future but dualistic in their view of the present. If, as most political scientists hold, complex societies are inherently pluralistic, millenarian projects are bound to be infeasible (utopianism) or to eventuate in high levels of force in an effort to transform reality (totalitarianism).

The vitality of research on millenarian movements has always been its profusion of fascinating case studies, and that tradition continues unabated to the present. Two recent but very different examples are Albert Schrauwers' rediscovery of the Children of Peace in nineteenth-century Toronto, and Michael Barkun's study of the connection between British Israel and the Christian Identity movement in the United States.[1] However, millenarian studies have made less progress in terms of research methods and theoretical paradigms. The main research methods remain historical description and textual analysis, occasionally supplemented by participant observation. Researchers are still working with theoretical concepts developed in the 1950s and 1960s, such as relative deprivation and failure of prophecy.[2] Thus millenarian studies are becoming an increasingly isolated field of research, largely detached from the current interests of the social sciences.[3]

This is particularly true in political science.[4] To be sure, a few political scientists have tried to draw connections with millenarianism, particularly in the case of politico-religious movements such as the Nation of Islam.[5] There have also been attempts to analyze secular ideologies as analogues of religious millenarianism, of which James Rhodes' study of National Socialism is an important example.[6] And a few political scientists (and historians writing political and intellectual history) have developed specific themes, for example, Norman Cohn and J. L. Talmon on the parallels between revolutionary millenarianism and totalitarianism,[7] Michael Barkun on secular millenarianism as a response to societal catastrophe,[8] and

Thomas Flanagan and Martha Lee on the failure-of-prophecy problem faced by radical political parties.[9] And, of course, there is the work of the sociologist Peter Worsley on the transformation of millenarian cults into movements of national liberation.[10] But even after acknowledging the work that has been done, it is still obvious that millenarian studies are on the periphery of contemporary political science.

This study tries to establish some deeper connections between the central concerns of political science and those of millenarian studies. I hope to show that millenarianism is not an isolated fringe phenomenon but one of several types of politics with which political scientists are normally concerned. Because politics is a contest between coalitions *within* the community for control *over* the community, and also involves conflict *among* communities, it creates anxiety over the fate of the society. Millenarianism is one of several possible reactions that affirm the whole community at the expense of the competitive struggle of politics. It is, therefore, part of the repertoire of political behaviour, not just a primitive superstition fated to die away with the progress of rationalism, nor merely an exotic response to catastrophic shocks. The distinctions and parallels drawn here should make it easier for political scientists to see the significance of millenarianism and for specialists in millenarian studies to adopt contemporary theories and methodologies from political science.

This focus on the political side of millenarianism complements Norman Cohn's recent work, *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come*.[11] In his pioneering book, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, Cohn treated millenarianism as an irrational, indeed psychopathological, response to famine, plague war, and economic dislocation.[12] More recently, however, he has come to see millenarianism as an essential spiritual aspect of Zoroastrianism, late Judaism, and early Christianity. 'This book', he writes, is concerned with a major turning-point in the history of human consciousness; it tries to describe how the destiny of the world and of human beings came to be imagined in a new way, and how these new expectations began to spread abroad.'[13] Millenarianism may still, in Cohn's view, give rise to 'fantasies, religious or secular';[14] but he now treats the subject as a integral part of mankind's religious evolution, not as a pathological deviation. Similarly, it will be argued here that, once millenarianism has emerged in religious consciousness, it becomes an integral and understandable part of politics.

A Typology of Politics

It is notorious that political scientists do not agree on the definition of politics. Some emphasize the formal institutions of the state,[15] others see

politics as an informal process present in all aspects of life.[16] Some emphasize the ubiquity of conflict,[17] others the reconciliation of differences.[18] But however significant these differences may be, they are largely matters of emphasis and wording, and can usually be turned out with a little effort. Let us begin with the biologically grounded definition proposed by Roger Masters, which, although ponderous, is insightful:

> One can therefore define politics ... as behaviour that simultaneously partakes of the attributes of bonding, dominance, and submission (which the human primate shares with many other mammals) and those of legal or customary regulation of social life (characteristic of human groups endowed with language). Politics is not merely what ethologists have called agonic or agnostic behaviour; competitive rivalry for dominance exists in sports, on school playgrounds, and in business without thereby deserving the name politics. Nor is all behaviour governed by legal norms automatically political ....
>
> Political behavior, properly so called, comprises actions in which the rivalry for and perpetuation of social dominance impinges on the legal or customary rules governing a group.[19]

Masters' definition makes the crucial point that politics is a contest within the community for control over the community. However, it neglects to mention that, as is also true of other primate species, politics implies conflict among communities. This is what Jane Goodall discovered in her fieldwork on the chimpanzees of Gombe, so that she had to make 'War' the title of a chapter in one of her books.[20] Adult male chimpanzees not only form coalitions to achieve dominance within their little communities, they patrol territorial boundaries and use lethal violence to prevent encroachments by members of other groups. Because of the human capacity for symbolism, our politics is far more complex, and operates on a larger scale, than chimpanzee politics; but it is similarly two-dimensional, involving internal struggles for dominance as well as external conflict with other communities.

Within these two dimensions of conflict are three fundamentally different kinds of politics: monistic, dualistic, and pluralistic. Below I enlarge upon these distinctions and show where millenarianism fits in.

Monism

Monism is a philosophy of oneness. As applied to politics, it refers to belief in a society without significant conflicts of interests – a society without war (external conflict) or class struggle (internal conflict), without hierarchy and oppression, without poverty and inequality. A well-known monistic statement of our era is John Lennon's song 'Imagine'.

> Imagine no possessions, I wonder if you can.
> No need for greed or hunger, the brotherhood of man.
> Imagine all the people sharing all the world.
>
> You may say I'm a dreamer, but I'm not the only one.
> I hope some day you'll join us,
> And the world will live as one.

There are several kinds of political monism. One is administration – organization in the pursuit of specified ends. In the world of administration, there is not supposed to be fundamental (political) conflict over ends, only technical disagreement over the best means to achieve agreed-upon ends. In public administration, it is commonly asserted that civil servants are non-political experts implementing policies chosen by their 'political masters'. In parliamentary systems, the distinction is symbolized by the different roles of the cabinet minister responsible for the department, and the administrative head of the department (deputy minister in Canada, permanent secretary in Great Britain).

Another example of monistic politics is the phenomenon known as populism, described by Margaret Canovan in these terms:

> The notion that 'the people' are one; that divisions among them are not genuine conflicts of interest but are manufactured by a few men of ill will; that parties are merely self-serving factions; and that the people will be best looked after by a single unpolitical leadership that will put their interest first – these ideas are *anti*political, but they are nevertheless essential elements in a political strategy that has often been used to gain power.[21]

All populist movements, whether of the left, right, or centre, treat 'the people' as an undifferentiated whole animated by a common set of desires. Although William Riker has demonstrated the fallacies of this notion in *Liberalism Against Populism*,[22] populist rhetoric continues to trade heavily upon expressions such as the 'will of the people'. For example, Preston Manning, a self-styled populist and leader of the Reform Party of Canada, which won 52 seats in the 1993 federal election, claims to draw his inspiration from 'the common sense of the common people'.[23] In the socialist tradition, Mao Zedong has been considered a populist because he emphasized the overwhelmingly agricultural character of the whole Chinese people,[24] as did the so-called *narodniki* (*narod* means 'people') in Imperial Russia.

When populist leaders posit enemies, they typically point to small 'elites' or 'special interests' said to be out of touch with the common people.[25] Often these elites are geographically remote (eastern bankers,

foreign capitalists) or ethnically different (Jews), and thus not really part of 'the people'. Populist political rhetoric emphasizes breaking the domination of the elites and returning power to the hands of the people. In comparison to the scope and intensity of class struggle within the Marxist perspective, populists see it as relatively easy to accomplish their aims because they see the people as so huge and so united, and the elites as so small and remote from the people. The people have only to shrug their giant shoulders, so to speak, to rid themselves of the elites or the special interests. Populists thus conceive politics as intrinsically monistic. Even in the present, there is one undifferentiated people, not divided by fundamental conflicts of interest. The presence of elites or special interests is only an irritating detail; once their power is broken, politics can assume its natural, conflict-free condition.

Totalitarianism is also a monistic form of politics, but in the future tense. Totalitarians see the present society as deeply divided between races (Aryans and Jews, whites and non-whites) or classes (proletariat and bourgeoisie, small peasants and kulaks). Hence the goal of political strategy must be to eliminate the enemy race or class to create a monistic society. The political formulas of totalitarian leaders are redolent of monism. Mussolini created the word *totalarismo* and defined it in these terms: 'Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state.'[26] Hitler also used a monistic formula: *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer* (one people, one empire, one leader). Once communism was securely in power in the Soviet Union, the regime changed from the dualistic slogans of Marxist class struggle to monistic, almost populist, slogans such as Khrushchev's 'state of all the people'.[27]

The classic analysis of Friedrich and Brzezinski emphasizes the monistic character of totalitarian regimes. In their 'totalitarian syndrome', there is one 'official ideology', a 'single mass party led typically by one man', a 'system of terroristic police control', a 'monopoly of control' over mass communications, another 'monopoly of control' over weapons, and a 'central control and direction of the entire economy'.[28] Imposing unity of purpose upon the society, with all necessary force, is the pervasive theme of totalitarianism.

Similarly, millenarianism is oriented around a vision of a monistic future society. As Norman Cohn pointed out, there are close analogies between totalitarianism (Communism and National Socialism were his examples) and what he called 'revolutionary millenarianism', exemplified by movements such as the Anabaptist uprising at Münster (1532–35). In his portrait of the Münster regime, Cohn laid great stress upon features that would fit comfortably into Friedrich and Brzezinski's totalitarian syndrome, as shown in the table of correspondences below:

Friedrich and Brzezinski Totalitarian Syndrome	**Münster Anabaptist Regime**
Official ideology	Theocratic regime; burning of books other than the Bible
Single party, individual leader	Dictatorship of Jan Bockelson
Terrorism	Expulsion, execution of dissenters
Communications monopoly	Control of preaching, printing
Weapons monopoly	Anabaptist militia
Centrally controlled economy	Confiscation of precious metals; new coinage; centralized control over housing, food, wives

However in spite of the obvious similarities, there is one major difference between totalitarianism and revolutionary millenarianism of the religious type. Totalitarian ideologists interpret the construction of the future monistic society as a purely human project to be carried out under the guidance of the state. Millenarian prophets, in contrast, interpret the Kingdom of God on earth as the work of God, not of men. This usually leads to political passivity, as in the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists, who wait for the Second Coming of Christ to inaugurate the Kingdom. However, it can also occasionally lead to political activism, as in the case of the Münster Anabaptists, who took up arms against the hosts of Antichrist.

A worthwhile project for comparative research would be a systematic study of the conditions under which religious millenarianism becomes politically activist. Eclectic reading of the literature suggests that a deliberate, calculated resort to arms is exceptional; more common is a dialectic of threat and counterthreat between millenarian believers and the state, which at some point breaks out into violence, perhaps by miscalculation. This is essentially what happened in Louis Riel's Northwest Rebellion of 1885: he declared a provisional government and took some hostages; the local Northwest Mounted Police sent out a column to secure some supplies; a confrontation turned violent; and the Canadian government sent troops to suppress the 'rebellion'.[29] Likewise, the tragic fire-fight in 1993 with the Branch Davidians at Waco, Texas, seems to have grown out of an unplanned dialectic of confrontation. But systematic research is needed to establish general patterns of activism and passivism.

Millenarianism and totalitarianism also have some kinship with administration. In 'The State and Revolution', Lenin recalled the aphorism of Saint-Simon, that in the communist society of the future, the 'government of men' would be replaced by the 'administration of things'.[30] In Edward

Bellamy's utopian-millenarian novel *Looking Backward*, the President of the United Sates is simply the commander of the 'industrial army'. There is no longer any politics in the usual sense:

> Almost the sole function of the administration now is that of directing the industries of the country. Most of the purposes for which governments formerly existed no longer remain to be subserved. We have ... no military organization ... no taxes or tax collectors ... nothing to make laws about.[31]

End-of-politics themes recur in depictions of the millennium. Occasionally, as in the early writings of Marx and Engels, there are visions of spontaneously benevolent anarchy, but societies of total administration à la Bellamy are more common. In either case, however, the coercive, exploitive character of politics disappears.

There is also a frequent, although not inevitable, affinity between populism and millenarianism. Most of the main populist leaders in Canada have come out of Christian religious traditions in which the millennium figures prominently. William Aberhart, leader of the Social Credit movement, and Preston Manning, leader of the Reform Party, belong to the Protestant fundamentalist tradition; Henry Wise Wood, the philosopher of the United Farmers of Alberta, and J. S. Woodworth, first leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, were nourished on the social gospel, which offers a semisecular reading of the chiliastic message of the New Testament. In the United States, Bellamy and other writers in the social gospel tradition also exercised important influence upon populism, as did fundamentalists like William Jennings Bryan.

In the broadest perspective, administration, populism, totalitarianism, and millenarianism all share one central feature: a dislike of discord, and therefore a rejection of politics. The advocates of administration want to fence off organizations from political conflict over objectives. Populists want to return society to what they believe is its naturally harmonious condition. Religious millenarians and secular totalitarians await the coming of the conflict-free society of the future, though they may have different scenarios for getting there.

An interesting question arises at this point. If, following Masters, we accept that politics is biological in origin (or, following Aristotle, that man is a 'political animal'), why should monistic rejection of politics have such a wide appeal? If diversity, conflict, and politics are inevitable and indeed genetically encoded in the human species, why do so many people want to escape them? Why do prophets, ideologists, and social reformers continue to imagine conflict-free societies? If Masters is right and politics is natural, what is the revolutionary payoff in rejecting politics?

The answers to these questions lie in the nature of politics. Both as a competitive struggle for dominance within the society and as a conflict with other societies, politics involves threats to the integrity of the society. All forms of monism emphasize the unity of the society, whether in the present or the future. From a systemic perspective, monistic appeals to unity reassure those in the society made uneasy by politics.[32] From the point of view of contestants for power, such appeals are also rhetorically useful because they offer reassurance that the goal of one's coalition is to promote the general interest, not merely to dominate others for the advantage of the winning coalition. Because politics consists of conflictual relationships between the parts of the whole, and among various wholes, monistic reassurance about the status of the whole can become a winning political strategy. The tendency toward monism, including millenarianism, is therefore no less 'sown in the nature of man' than is the Madisonian tendency toward factionalism.[33]

Dualism

Dualism is a philosophy or worldview which emphasizes the opposition between two forces or ideas. The paradigmatic case in politics is two nations locked in total war. Then, internal differences are suspended in a state of military emergency, and all energies are focused on the destruction of the enemy. Domestic political opponents often come together in a grand governing coalition, or at the very least there is a show of nonpartisanship in prosecuting the war. Under these circumstances, the enemy is bound to be demonized, as shown by the accomplishments of the propaganda machines of all major combatants in both the First and Second World Wars.

Dualism can also be internal, as in the famous words of Marx and Engels: 'Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.'[34] In addition to the class struggle, there can also be an internal racial struggle – for example, the struggle between Aryans and Jews posited by National Socialists, or between blacks (all non-whites) and whites posited in different ways by Christian Identity and the Nation of Islam. And of course, internal dualistic conflict can also be conceived as part of a world-wide struggle involving all societies, as is true of all four movements mentioned above.

Dualism seems like a natural style of politics for great movements. Positing a powerful enemy is a way of raising and focusing energy in the struggle. Although dualism can appear in many situations, it has a special role in totalitarianism and millenarianism. Both types of movements

perceive a radical disjunction between the society of the present and that of the future; and an obvious way to explain the disjunction is as the result of an evil power that holds the present in bondage and must be overthrown to let the future emerge.

The Judaeo-Christian millenarian tradition in particular is replete with dualistic imagery: God and Satan, Christ and Antichrist, Chosen People and Gentiles, the saved and the damned, the sheep and the goats. In *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come*, Norman Cohn argues that this is the heritage of Zoroaster. The cosmological myths of creation common in the ancient Middle East all contained stories of combat between the forces of order and the forces of disorder, for example, the Egyptian myth of Seth's murder of Osiris, and the revenge of Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis.[35] Prior to Zoroaster, all ancient peoples understood the struggle between the gods of order and the gods of chaos as an ongoing, never-ending process. The victory of order was never permanent; it had to be renewed each year in the progression of the seasons and in the New Year's festival. Zoroaster's world-historical innovation was to visualize and foretell a permanent victory of the forces of order, led by Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), over the forces of chaos, led by Angra Mainya (Ahriman). 'So in the end Angra Mainyu/Ahriman is annihilated once and for all, along with all his host of demons and all his human allies. In place of repeated but incomplete victories we are promised a final and total one.'[36] With this vision of a final victory of light over darkness, Zoroaster decisively transformed the cyclical worldview of antiquity into a conception of history as linear progress. Zoroastrian dualism was an essential aspect of the creation of modern historical consciousness, as transmitted through late Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic. Millenarianism, therefore, is both monistic and dualistic – dualistic in its view of the present, which it strives to overthrow; and monistic in its view of the future, which it strives to instantiate.

Pluralism

Pluralism is a philosophy accepting the existence of a multiplicity of ideas, forces, or values. Many schools of legal, social, and political thought have been called pluralist. Most familiar to contemporary political scientists is the work of Robert Dahl and his students, who have used the term pluralism to represent a methodological focus on the competitive struggle of organized interests within the legal framework of democratic government.[37] However, in a broader sense most political scientists, even those who are critical of Dahl and his school, are pluralists in the sense that they take for granted several propositions:

- All societies, except perhaps the very smallest, are divided by cleavages of interest and ideology
- Politics is a competitive struggle for power carried on by building coalitions among various groups
- There is no permanent end to the political process; coalitions form, dissolve, and re-form kaleidoscopically.

At the level of international politics, Hans Morgenthau's philosophy of realism shares the same assumptions. In his words:

> The history of political thought is the story of a contest between two schools that differ fundamentally in their conceptions of the nature of man, society, and politics. One [usually called liberalism or idealism] believes that a rational and moral political order, derived from universally valid abstract principles, can be achieved here and now ....
>
> The other school believes that the world, imperfect as it is from the rational point of view, is the result of forces inherent in human nature ... This being inherently a world of opposing interests and of conflict among them, moral principles can never be fully realized, but must at best be approximated through the ever temporary balancing of interests and the ever precarious settlement of conflicts. This school, then, sees in a system of checks and balances a universal principle for all pluralist societies.[38]

Monism and dualism resemble each other much more than either resembles pluralism; in fact, they are alike in their repudiation of pluralism. They refuse to accept the legitimacy of a world in which the permanent plurality of interests precludes the primacy of a single, absolute principle. In this context, the difference between monism and dualism is actually very slight; it is just a question of timing, because dualists always believe in the ultimate victory of their favoured principle. Moreover, all forms of political monism and dualism are rebellions against the pluralism of the real world. Administration seeks to carve out a sector of the world in which a directed order can reign. Populism asserts that the appearance of pluralism is superficial, that there is a monistic reality underneath. All dualistic visions of class or racial war seek to collapse the manifold variations of a plural world into two great categories, and then urge the victory of one and the annihilation of the other. Millenarianism and totalitarianism, which are dualistic in the present, also paint elaborate pictures of the monistic society of the future, whether they attribute it to human action or divine intervention.

From this perspective, millenarian movements are not exotic fringe phenomena but an intrinsic aspect of politics in complex societies. Because

the political process of pluralism often seems to mean only the advancement of special interests, there is fertile ground for populist, millenarian, or totalitarian reactions to sprout up. Their attraction is that, in various ways, they stress the interests of the whole and interpret the unedifying conflicts of pluralism as a temporary disorder to be wished away or overcome once and for all. Pluralism is realistic to political scientists, but monism and its dualistic *doppelgänger* are equally rooted in the nature of politics.

If this analysis is correct, it helps to answer the often-posed question about the 'rationality' of millenarianism, as well as of other forms of monism and dualism. They are indeed rational in the sense of being intelligible reactions to the stresses and strains of politics. When conflict from within or without threatens the integrity or even the existence of the political community, it is understandable that people would turn to regenerative visions in which the whole is re-established and its enemies are overcome or defined out of existence. But if pluralism represents the empirical truth about politics, except perhaps in the smallest and most primitive communities, then millenarianism is bound to be irrational in terms of its intellectual content. In seeing a world starkly divided between good and evil, and positing the final victory of good over evil, it simplifies reality to the point of caricature – what J. L. Talmon identified as the theoretical 'pencil sketch'.[39] Reliance on such intellectual fallacies leads either to political failure, which Marx and Engels criticized as 'utopianism', or to coercive imposition of a new order, which, like the Soviet Union, will fail in the long term because it ignores basic human realities.

NOTES

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